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Siglenverzeichnis

ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ADSV	Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BSFN	Bulletin de la Sociéte française de numismatique
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIC	Corpus Iuris Civilis
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DA	Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	Études Balkaniques
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
FGH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center Egypt
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJurP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OrChrist	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RÉArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RÉSEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RHT	Revue d'histoire des textes
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RömQ	Römische Quartalsschrift
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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I. ABTEILUNG

Panagiotis A. Agapitos

Franz Dölger and the hieratic model of Byzantine literature

With plates I – VI

Abstract: The paper examines more broadly the intellectual formation, early carreer and research activity of Franz Dölger with the aim to elucidate, on the one hand, the shift that took place in Byzantine Studies in Munich during the Thirties of the previous century from a philological to a historical direction. On the other hand, the paper offers a detailed analysis of Dölger's concept of Byzantine literature and its history, the development of this concept and its immediate impact on Byzantine Philology as a separate field within Byzantine Studies. Pivotal in understanding Dölger's concept are his connection with and use of the Nazi regime and its ideology, as well as a latent but visible antagonism to Karl Krumbacher. The paper includes an analysis of hitherto unknown publications of Dölger from the Nazi era and a number of unpublished documents pertaining to the Athos Expedition of July 1941 and its aftermath.

Parts of the present paper were researched and written at the Institut für Byzantinistik (München) in the summer of 2012 and the autumn of 2017 with the support of two short-term fellowships by the Alexander-von-Humboldt Stiftung (Bonn). It was completed and fully revised at the Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte (Frankfurt) in 2018 with an extended fellowship from the Gerda-Henkel Stiftung (Düsseldorf) covering also field trips to Munich and Berlin. I am grateful to all four institutions for their generous financial support and/or warm hospitality. My particular thanks extend to Albrecht Berger, Wolfram Brandes, Polymnia Katsoni, Denise Klein, Erich Lamberz, Günther Prinzing, Nikos Tsivikis and Kostis Smyrlis for providing me with their own publications or rare bibliographical items and for many fruitful discussions. Finally, I would like to thank Johann Pörnbacher at the Archiv der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften and Andrea Frank at the Bundesarchiv Berlin for helping me with the study of various dossiers and giving me the permission to photograph or print out and publish some of the documents included therein. Together with two papers published in 2015 and 2017 (see footnote 1 below), this paper forms a triptych of interconnected studies on the history of Byzantine Philology in Munich, the historiography of the histories of Byzantine literature and the beginnings of Modern Greek literature.

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It is the sad fate of visionary thinkers that their innovative contributions are sometimes misunderstood by some of their immediate successors. It is not uncommon to observe how especially those who view themselves as guardians of their predecessor's legacy misrepresent these contributions by gradually turning them into unassailable monuments removed from the times and the spirit in which they had been produced. This was certainly the case with Karl Krumbacher (1856 – 1909) and his highly original propositions about how to approach and study Medieval Greek literature as part of Byzantine culture, propositions that led to the unspoken acceptance of what I have elsewhere termed the "Krumbacher paradigm" in Byzantine Philology.[1] One century after the appearance of the second edition of the *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*,[2] the few publications that focused on the history of Byzantine literature seemed mostly to reflect a faint memory of the structure of Krumbacher's *magnum opus* (i.e. broad separation of learned and vernacular, religious and secular, prose and poetry), rather than being inspired by the innovative and integrating narrative synthesis of his popularizing (and by now forgotten) essay *Die griechische Literatur des Mittelalters*.[3] In particular, his critical proposition about applying scientific objectivity and not using aestheticist appreciation in studying the "ugly" texts of

1 See P.A. Agapitos, Karl Krumbacher and the history of Byzantine literature. *BZ* 108 (2015) 1 – 52, esp. 8 – 23; on the influence of this paradigm in the history of Modern Greek literature see P.A. Agapitos, Dangerous literary liaisons: Byzantium and Neohellenism. *Byzantina* 35 (2017 [2018]) 33 – 126, esp. 51 – 71.

2 K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527 – 1453). Zweite Auflage, bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von A. Ehrhard und H. Gelzer. *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IX.1. München 1897 (reprinted, New York 1970 in two volumes); it will be referred to hereafter as GBL.

3 K. Krumbacher, Die griechische Literatur des Mittelalters, in P. Hinneberg (ed.), Die Kultur der Gegenwart: Ihre Entwickelung und ihre Ziele. Teil I, Abteilung 8: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache. Berlin 1905, 237 – 285 (it will be referred to hereafter as GLM); on this essay see Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 39 – 50. For two overviews from the late twentieth century see W.J. Aerts, Panorama der byzantinischen Literatur, in L.J. Engels/H. Hofmann (eds.), Spätantike, mit einem Panorama der byzantinischen Literatur. *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, 4. Wiesbaden 1997, 635 – 716; A. Kambylis, Abriß der byzantinischen Literatur, in H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), Einleitung in die griechische Philologie. Stuttgart 1997, 316 – 342.

Byzantine literature was seriously misunderstood as rejecting literary analysis.[4] Thus, it was often stated and restated during the twentieth century that Byzantine culture did not produce works of a loftier literary merit, primarily because of the restrictive power of classicism. This attitude led to a gradual shift towards rigid formalism in the study of Byzantine literature, a stance that also defined the place of Byzantine Philology within the broader field of Byzantine Studies. This rigid formalism was intimately connected to a predominently negative view of Byzantine textual production.[5] A number of scholars perpetuated this use of Krumbacher's misunderstood scientific paradigm; among these scholars the most influential was Franz Dölger (1891–1968), whose views on Byzantine literature and its history have not been examined so far by Byzantinists interested in the textual production of Medieval Greek culture.

The present paper aims to study and possibly explain this change that took place in the research directions and broader understanding of Byzantine Studies in Munich during the Thirties of the previous century, focusing in particular on Franz Dölger, his various research interests and activities, as well as certain aspects of his legacy. More specifically, the paper attempts to elucidate Dölger's concept of Byzantine literature and the influence this concept had on the study of Medieval Greek texts in the Fifties and Sixties of the twentieth century. The paper is organized in five sections. The first one draws a sketch of Byzantinist Munich in the Twenties in order to create the setting for the rise of Dölger's career therein. The second section examines in some detail the expedition conducted on Mount Athos in July 1941 under the leadership of Dölger, putting a special emphasis on the various surviving documents and publications connected to this activity, as well as to its embarrassing aftermath five years later in 1946. The third section takes a brief look at Dölger's understanding of the Byzantine Empire as a whole. The fourth section proceeds, then, to examine closely Dölger's effort to demote Byzantine Philology and to analyse the reasons behind this "strategy", while the fifth and final section looks at the "hieratic" model that

4 Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 10–14.
5 One early example of such an attitude is the criticism expressed by Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (1877–1963) against the overview of Byzantine literature by G. Montelatici, Storia della letteratura bizantina (324–1453). *Manuali Hoepli: Serie Scientifica*, 95–96. Milano 1916 (repr. Milano 1976), that presented a peculiar mixture of intelligent remarks, idiosyncratic ideas, a readable style and a substantial number of errors; see S.G. Mercati, *Roma e l'Oriente* 15 (1918) 171–183, who uses Krumbacher as authority to reject any notion of aesthetic appreciation. However, one should point to the positive note by A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 24 (1923/24) 134 ("eine Übersicht, die ohne gelehrtes Beiwerk weiteren Kreisen ein lebensvolles Bild vermittelt").

Dölger developed for Byzantine literature and the influence of this model on philological scholarship.

Despite the paper's length, it does not offer a comprehensive history of Byzantine Studies in Germany or other European countries. The substantial analysis of Dölger's career, his involment with diplomatics and, consequently, with the Athos expedition serve to facilitate readers to understand how the current (demoted) state of Byzantine Philology and the still nascent, theoretically informed, literary interpretation of Byzantine textual production came about. The paper takes up a polyphonic narrative form with various digressions, flashbacks and flashforwards – essentially Heliodorean in Michael Psellos's reading where the head of the snake lies hidden in the centre of its coils. The way to this dangerous centre has not been easy for the author of this study, but it helped him to see more clearly the "truth behind the veil". The various points of criticism expressed should be read not as an attempt to deconstruct the achievements of Franz Dölger but as the necessary move to step out of our field's self-imposed introversion in matters concerning the place of Byzantine literature within the broader landscape of Medieval European literatures.

1. Byzantinist Munich in the Twenties and the career of Franz Dölger

In the thirty-five years between July 1886, when Luitpold of the Wittelsbach begun his tenure as Prinzregent, and June 1919, when Bavaria was proclaimed a "Freistaat" within the Weimar Republic, Munich experienced an immense growth in population, industrialization and the arts, but also a breakdown of the social fabric and the economy during the First World War. It is during these dynamic and turbulent times that Byzantine Studies were founded and grew, as Karl Krumbacher created around him a small but active community of students establishing, at the same time, one of the most extended Byzantinist networks through his immense correspondence.

Krumbacher died unexpectedly of a stroke on 12 December 1909 at the age of 53. August Heisenberg (1869 – 1930), one of his first and most active students, was appointed in January 1910 to succeed him as Professor of "Middle and Modern Greek Philology" and as editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.[6] Heisenberg also succeeded Krumbacher as member of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissen-

6 For a brief prosopographical entry see W. OHNSORGE, Heisenberg, August. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969) 455 – 456.

schaften (= BAW) and director of a mentored project ("Kommission") set up by Krumbacher in 1901 with the aim of editing a *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*.[7] Heisenberg found Paul Marc (1877–1949) as co-editor of the *BZ* and main researcher at the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*.[8] Paul was the older brother of the expressionist painter Franz Marc (1880–1916), and had defended in 1904 his dissertation under Krumbacher,[9] who already in 1901 had chosen the young scholar to work with him at the BAW. Parallel to his substantial work at the Kommission, Marc prepared the full index for the first twelve volumes of the *BZ*.[10] Heisenberg kept Marc as co-editor of the journal and part-time researcher for the *Corpus*. However, after Marc left for the front in the late summer of 1914, work on the project came to a complete halt. Heisenberg was not able to secure in late 1917 for Marc the vacant position of managing secretary ("Syndikus") in the BAW. Upon his return from the war in December 1918, where he had lost a leg and his brother was killed, Marc had no alternative than to take up a full-time job in April 1919 as editor of the international correspondance ("Auslandspost") in *Der Neue Merkur*, a literary journal known in the Twenties for its leftist-liberal sympathies. In July 1919 Marc asked in writing to be released from his contract as researcher at the *Corpus*.[11] As of 1 January 1920 Franz Dölger had taken up Marc's part-time job as researcher at the Kommission of the Academy. In February 1920 Marc signed a

7 This ambitious project was initially accepted at the first meeting of the International Association of Academies in Paris in 1901 but officially launched in the second meeting of the IAA in London in 1904 as a formal cooperation between the Imperial Academy of Vienna and the BAW. On the history of the *Corpus* and the connections between the various academies see C. Grau, Das Urkunden-Corpus des Oströmischen Reiches, die Internationale Assoziation und das Kartell der Akademien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Byzantinistik. *Sitzungsberichte der Leibnitz-Sozietät* 18 (1997) 65–84.

8 On Marc see briefly Grau, ibid. 70–73 and now the excellent articles by A. E. Müller, August Heisenberg, Paul Marc und die Suche nach einem geeigneten Syndikus für die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 45 (2003) 191–197 and idem, Vom Verschwinden einer unbekannten Größe: Der Byzantinist Paul Marc, in W. Hörandner/J. Koder/M. A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik: Beiträge zum Symposion Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger. *Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia*, 24. Wien 2004, 308–314.

9 It was published as P. Marc, Die Überlieferung des Äsopromans. *BZ* 19 (1910) 383–421.

10 Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Generalregister zu Band I–XII, 1892–1903, ausgearbeitet von P. Marc. Leipzig 1909. One needs only to read Marc's preface to understand what he achieved in this volume. It was on account of this Generalregister that Krumbacher invited Marc to become co-editor of the *BZ*, starting with volume 18 of 1909.

11 Müller, Heisenberg (as footnote 8 above) 197 and idem, Vom Verschwinden (as footnote 8 above) 312, quoting the relevant document in full.

memorandum of delivery-receipt in which he confirmed that he had handed over *correctly and completely* ("richtig und vollständig") the whole material pertaining to the *Corpus* to Dölger who countersigned the document.[12] By 1923 Marc had moved to Hamburg and to the permanent position of deputy director of the newly founded Institut für Auswärtige Politik. For four years he still assisted Heisenberg as co-editor of the *BZ* until he stepped down with the completion of volume 27 of 1927, thus leaving any connection with Byzantine Studies behind him. He was again succeeded as co-editor by Dölger.[13]

Under Heisenberg the Mittel- und Neugriechisches Seminar thrived, and in November 1929, Heisenberg's pupils celebrated their teacher's sixtieth birthday with a festive occasion in the rooms of the Seminar. They presented to their happy master a Festschrift,[14] whereas he thanked them by reciting a playfully ironic "celebratory verse sermon" he composed himself.[15] Less than a year later, Heisenberg contracted typhus in Sicily during his vacation, and, though he managed to attend the Third International Byzantinist Congress, where he delivered a festive address, he returned gravely sick to Munich where he died on 22 November 1930.[16] He was succeeded in April 1931 by Franz Dölger.

In the forty years since the establishment of the *BZ* in 1892 and up to 1931, Byzantine Studies in Europe had progressed immensely and the role of the By-

12 For the relevant passage from this document see MÜLLER, Vom Verschwinden 312.

13 Only a short notice appeared in the summer issue of the journal's next volume explaining the presence of a new name on the title page; see *BZ* 28 (1928) 240, signed by A(ugust) H(eisenberg).

14 F. DÖLGER (ed.), Festgabe A. Heisenberg zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet. Leipzig/Berlin 1929/30 (= vol. 30 of *BZ*). The volume was edited with the decisive assistance of Paul Maas.

15 It was preserved by F. DÖLGER, August Heisenberg, in H.-G. Beck (ed.), Χάλικες. Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß, München 15.–20. September 1958. München 1958, 137–159, esp. 150–157.

16 For formal obituaries of Heisenberg see indicatively H. GRÉGOIRE, *Byzantion* 9 (1931) 519–521; F. DVORNIK, *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931) 181–183; V. GRECU, *Codrul Cosminului* 7 (1931/32) 551–565. Despite their very different perspectives, the brief but personal obituaries written by the fifty-year-old H. GRÉGOIRE, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 9 (1930) 1251–1253 and the twenty-five-year-old L. POLITIS, *Nea Estia* 5/97 (1931) 36–39 attest to the vivacious and jovial character of Heisenberg, especially during the 1930 conference proceedings. Politis' obituary includes a fine picture of Heisenberg during the excursion at Daphni Monastery, taken by the young philologist himself. The whole volume of the Congress abstracts was dedicated to Heisenberg's memory; see A.C. ORLANDOS (ed.), IIIme Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes 1930: Compte-Rendu. Athens 1932, V. For the most extended obituary of Krumbacher's successor see F. DÖLGER, August Heisenberg. *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 59/241 (1933) 25–55.

zantinist Seminar in Munich had been seminal in this happy progress.[17] Despite the vicissitudes brought upon German Byzantine Studies after the First World War, Heisenberg was able to lead the Seminar into a period of renewed creativity. He continued to teach in the manner he had learned from Krumbacher, but adding his own touch to the approach of Byzantine literature, where he focused more strongly on learned literature and its aesthetic appreciation. In a now forgotten essay of 1901 on the development of Byzantine Philology and its future tasks, Heisenberg clearly recognized two of Krumbacher's most innovative propositions, namely that Byzantine literature had to be approached through a historical method and that this literature (and its history) was still an incomplete and uncertain material that needed to be fully reevaluated and reapproached.[18] Heisenberg devoted himself particularly to this "incomplete" aspect of Byzantine literature by undertaking travels to Italy and Greece to study manuscripts. From very early on, he begun publishing his findings and editing texts until then unknown. It was his merit to have discovered Nicholas Mesarites (ca. 1163–ca. 1220) as an author through the study of the two manuscripts transmitting his works and kept at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.[19] The remarks Heisenberg made on various aesthetic aspects of Mesarites' works are good examples of such a literary approach in the first half of the twentieth century.[20] Heisenberg,

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17 See already the brief report of K. Krumbacher, Das Mittel- und Neugriechische Seminar der Universität München. *BZ* 17 (1908) 317 – 318 on the tenth anniversary of the Seminar.

18 A. Heisenberg, Die bisherige Entwicklung der byzantinischen Philologie und ihre künftigen Aufgaben. *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 274 (28 – 11 – 1901) 1 – 5, esp. 4.

19 A. Heisenberg, Analecta: Mitteilungen aus italienischen Handschriften byzantinischer Chronographen. München 1901, 19 – 39 first suggested that the two Ambrosiani had originally been one book, followed by E. Martini / D. Bassi, Un codice di Nicolò Mesarita. *Rendiconti dell' Academia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti Anno 1903*. Napoli 1903, 3 – 14. For a detailed description of the two codices and full reconstruction of the original book see now A. Cataldi Palau, Nicolas Mésaritès: Deux lettres inédites (Milan, Ambrosianus F 96 sup., ff. 15v–16v), in A. Binggeli et al. (eds.), Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia: Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin. Leuven 2016, 187 – 232, esp. 194 – 223.

20 Indicatively see his fine remarks on the *ekphrasis* of the Church of the Holy Apostles in A. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche: Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Literatur des ausgehenden Altertums. Zweiter Teil: Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel. Leipzig 1908, 4 – 8. At the same time, he had his own aesthetic biases, as can be gleaned from his comments on the poems of Nicholas Eirenikos for the festivities of John Batatzes' marriage to Constanza of Hohenstaufen, where Heisenberg objects to an actually astute remark of Krumbacher (GBL 768) that the poems reminded him of Modern Greek marriage folksongs and that Eirenikos possibly drew his inspiration from oral poetry; see A. Heisenberg, Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit. *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1920*, 10. München

as much of his work attests, was strongly interested in Byzantine art and its relation to historical “reality”. It is out of this interest that he wrote his two-volume monograph on the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Holy Apostles,[21] or his study of the double-headed eagle.[22] And though he was so strongly attracted to the “realities” of Byzantine culture, he was neither a specialist in diplomatics[23] nor in Byzantine history.[24] Finally, Heisenberg was very strongly dedicated to the international cooperations within the field, but also to its cosmopolitan character. Some of these ideas he expressed in the festive address he gave at the Third International Byzantinist Congress in Athens on 16 October 1930. In this talk,[25] Heisenberg emphatically pointed out that, before the First World War, Byzantine Studies were an international field wherein Byzantium was studied as a unity; as his example he chose painting and architecture. After the war the various nations that had been part of the Byzantine empire begun looking at Byzantine art as a national matter, searching for national traits in order to establish a Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek or Russian art of the Byzantines. However, despite the good research results on a national/regional level, Heisenberg pointed to the danger of Byzantine Studies cancelling itself as an overarching discipline.[26] At the same time, he strongly urged Byzantinists to “reclaim” from Classical Philology the Greek textual production between 300 and 700

1920, 111 – 112 (repr. in Idem, Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte. London 1973, no. I). For a recent literary reevaluation of these poems within the context of Nicaean textual production see P. A. Agapitos, ‘Words filled with tears’: Amorous discourse in the Palaiologan romances, in M. Alexiou / D. Cairns (eds.), Greek tears and laughter: late antiquity, Byzantium and beyond. *Edinburgh Leventis Classical Studies*, 8. Edinburgh 2017, 353 – 374, esp. 371 – 373 with the older bibliography.

21 See previous note for the reference.

22 Heisenberg, Aus der Geschichte (as footnote 20 above) 13 – 25.

23 For his only publication in diplomatics see his study of two chrysobulls of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos in Heisenberg, ibid. 25 – 33, which was based on the work done by Paul Marc, as Heisenberg himself states (ibid. 25).

24 See his very conventional overview of the Byzantine state and society in A. Heisenberg, Staat und Gesellschaft des byzantinischen Reiches, in P. Hinneberg (ed.), Die Kultur der Gegenwart: Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele. Teil II, Abteilung IV, 1: Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Zweite Auflage, ed. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf / J. Kromayer / A. Heisenberg. Leipzig/Berlin 1923, 364 – 437. On the immense and unfinished project of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* see Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 41 – 42.

25 A. Heisenberg, Die Byzantinistik nach dem Weltkrieg, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele, in Orlandos, IIIme Congrès International des Études Byzantines (as footnote 16 above) 66 – 72.

26 Ibid. 67 – 68.

for the proper study of Byzantine literature as an autonomous and meaningful entity.[27]

As mentioned already, Heisenberg's successor to the Munich chair of Middle and Modern Greek Philology was Franz Dölger, his most famous and most successful pupil.[28] Dölger was a studied classical philologist (1910 – 1914), but moved to Byzantine philology obviously attracted by Heisenberg. He interrupted his studies in order to participate as a volunteer during the whole duration of the First World War (1914 – 1918), and was awarded the Eisernes Kreuz II. Klasse[29]

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27 Ibid. 69. Interestingly enough, this process of "reclaiming" is still lacking in Byzantine philology; see P. A. Agapitos, Late Antique or Early Byzantine? The Shifting Beginnings of Byzantine Literature. *Istituto Lombardo – Accademia di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti: Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 146 (2012 [2015]) 3 – 38.

28 For formal obituaries see H.-G. Beck, Franz Dölger (1891 – 1968). *Bayer. Akad. Wiss., Jahrbuch* 1969, 212 – 215 and H. Hunger, Franz Dölger. *Almanach der Österr. Akad. Wiss.* 1969, 391 – 407. Dölger was offered two *Festschriften:* J. M. Hoeck (ed.). Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet. München 1951 (= vol. 44 of *BZ*), and P. Wirth (ed.), Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag. *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe D: Beihefte. Forschungen zur griechischen Diplomatik und Geschichte*, 1. Heidelberg 1966. Furthermore, three volumes with selections of thematically organized papers were published on the occasions of his sixty-fifth and his seventieth birthday (Byzantinische Diplomatik, 1956; Παρασπορά, 1961; Εὐχαριστήριον, 1961); for full references to these latter volumes see footnote 36, 48 and 212 respectively. However, almost all of Dölger's biographical data listed in the following two pages derive from an extensive Questionnaire of the Military Government of Germany (six long pages plus two appendices), filled out and signed by Dölger on 2 February 1946, and kept in his dossier at the BAW. Some of this biographical data was used by M. Hose, Franz Dölger (1891 – 1968): Ein Leben für die byzantinische Diplomatik, in D. Willoweit (ed.), Denker, Forscher und Entdecker: Eine Geschichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in historischen Portraits. München 2009, 307 – 321 (text) and 393 – 395 (notes), esp. 312 – 313; the biographical information provided by Hunger, Dölger 391 – 392 derives from his personal memories of Dölger.

29 One of the most famous German medals, created by King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia in March 1813. The design of the cross became the hallmark of the German army since the time it was used in the First World War as the sign of the Luftwaffe; on the medal's history see W. Heinemann (ed.), Das Eiserne Kreuz: Die Geschichte eines Symbols im Wandel der Zeit. *Potsdamer Schriften zur Militärgeschichte* 24. Postdam 2014. The information on Dölger's medals comes from the Questionnaire, p. 2 question no. 38 (Dölger's typed answers in Italics): "Sind Sie berechtigt, militärische Orden oder andere militärische Ehrenauszeichnungen zu tragen? *Ja.* Falls, ja, geben Sie an, was Ihnen verliehen wurde, das Datum, den Grund und Anlaß für die Verleihung. *EK II; Bay.MVd.O.IVmSch; Ehrkr.f.Frontk. (ausschließlich Auszeichn. des Weltkrieges 1914 – 1918; in diesem Kriege keine Auszeichnung).*

and the Bayerischer Militärverdienstorden IV. Klasse mit Schwertern[30] immediately upon the end of the war, while sometime in 1934/35 he was also awarded the Ehrenkreuz für Frontkämpfer.[31] Heisenberg himself remarked many years after 1918 how much the young man was attracted to the military service and how he succeeded in binding him to Byzantium.[32] Dölger successfully passed the State Examination for teaching Greek and Latin in the Bavarian highschool system, while he was also able to finish his doctoral dissertation under Heisenberg and defend it in 1919.[33] In November of that year he entered the Bavarian State Library as a trainee. As mentioned already, in January 1920 he took over the part-time research position of Paul Marc at the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*. In 1921, after having successfuly passed the librarianship examination, he was transferred to the University Library and, in his capacity as librarian, he prepared the public keyword catalogue of the library. In 1925 he defended his habilitation thesis, that was published two years later,[34] while the first two volumes of the *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 – 1453* had already appeared in 1924 and 1925. He was entrusted with two field trips to Mount Athos in 1928 and 1930, the latter in the summer before the Third Interna-

30 This was an important (and costly) medal created by King Ludwig II of Bavaria in July 1866; it was awarded in various classes up to 1921; see G. Schreiber, Die Bayerischen Orden und Ehrenzeichen. München 1964, 142 – 151.

31 This particular medal was created by Reichspräsident von Hindenburg in early July 1934 to commemorate the twenty years from the beginning of the "World War", hence it was named Ehrenkreuz des Weltkrieges. However, since Hindenburg died in August of the same year, the medal was renamed Ehrenkreuz für Frontkämpfer and given in the name of Hitler as Führer and Reichskanzler. The medal was awarded only after application and the application deadline was March 1935, which means that Dölger actually applied to the authorities to receive this medal; see J. Nimmergut, Deutsche Orden und Ehrenzeichen bis 1945. Band 4: Württemberg (2) – Deutsches Reich. München 2001, 1187 – 1199. In the Questionnaire, Dölger does not give dates for the awards of the three medals, thus obscuring the fact that the third medal was awarded at the beginning of the Nazi regime.

32 See the relevant verses in Heisenberg's festive verse sermon of 1929; Χάλικες (as footnote 15 above) 154, also quoted by Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 313.

33 F. Dölger, Quellen und Vorbilder zu dem Gedichte des Meliteniotes Εἰς τὴν Σωφροσύνην. Mit einer Einleitung über die Person des Dichters, München 1919. The dissertation was never published but there survive two typescript copies kept at the Bavarian State Library. At a much later point, Dölger published a paper where he summarily presented his proposal about the date of the poem's composition; see Idem, Die Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes des Meliteniotes auf die Enthaltsamkeit. *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 2 (1933 – 1934) 315 – 330.

34 F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 9. Leipzig/Berlin 1927.

tional Byzantinist Congress in Athens.[35] These field trips yielded a number of articles on various aspects of Byzantine diplomatics,[36] but they also contributed greatly to the publication in 1931 of an album with facsimiles of Byzantine imperial documents,[37] and to the completion and publication of the third volume of the *Regesten* one year later.[38] With these publications and his appointment in the Munich professorship, Dölger was hailed, if not as the founder, then certainly as the world expert on Byzantine diplomatics. His publications in this field are vast and their influence on the study of documents, particularly imperial documents has been immense.

At this point, it will not be unimportant to recall summarily the impressive foundation that Paul Marc had built in uninterrupted and hard work from 1901 until 1914 for the immense project of the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit:* (i) he drew up the first index of Byzantine and Modern Greek documentary material, geographically organized;[39] (ii) he presented specimens of the editions of Byzantine imperial documents ("Kaiserurkunden") and of summaries ("Regesten") of such documents;[40] (iii) for the edition of the *Kaiserurkunden* he prepared a chronological *Repertorium* of all issuers of such documents furnished with the relevant published edition of each document, an alphabetical *Repertorium* of all receivers of same documents, and a geographical *Repertorium* of all the places where the documents were kept; this third index also included information on the condition of preservation of each document (where possible), the bibliography to each document and the ex-

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35 Dölger participated at the Congress in the Section of History with a paper on John VII Palaiologos (see ORLANDOS, IIIme Congrès International des Études Byzantines, as footnote 16 above, 155 – 158 for the abstract), which was then published as F. DÖLGER, Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390 – 1408. *BZ* 31 (1931) 21 – 36. In the same volume of the *BZ*, Dölger also published a report on the Congress (Ibid. 234 – 238).

36 See, for example, F. DÖLGER, Der Kodikellos des Christodulos von Palermo: Ein bisher unbekannter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde. *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 11 (1929) 1 – 65 (reprinted in IDEM, Byzantinische Diplomatik: 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner. Ettal 1956, 1 – 74).

37 F. DÖLGER, Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. München 1931.

38 For an overwiew of Dölger's quick succession of publications parallel to the work at the university library see MÜLLER, Vom Verschwinden (as footnote 8 above) 313.

39 Plan eines Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit bestimmt zur Vorlage bei der zweiten allgemeinen Sitzung der Association Internationale des Académies, London 1904. München 1903, 13 – 124.

40 Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit: Bericht und Druckproben bestimmt zur Vorlage auf der Versammlung der Internationalen Association der Akademien, Rom, 9.–15. Mai 1910. München 1910 (32 pages).

istence (where applicable) of photographs;[41] (iv) he started compiling proper summaries of the imperial documents, taking also into consideration the juridical manuscripts preserving decrees and law collections;[42] (v) he proposed the publication of a volume with editions and facsimiles of selected byzantine imperial documents;[43] (vi) he undertook field travels between 1906 and 1913 to various libraries in Venice, Patmos and on Mount Athos in order to study, describe and photograph as much documentary material as was possible, establishing at the BAW the first such professional photograph collection in the history of Byzantine Studies.[44]

On the one hand, it is almost certain that Dölger systematically used the substantial work produced by Marc for the *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* as found in the material handed over to him by the latter in February 1920. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the publication of two volumes within the time span of five years, whereby Dölger had no previous training in diplomatics, and this parallel to his other commitments, such as his work at the university library, the writing of his habilitation thesis, then teaching at the Seminar and co-editing the *BZ*.[45] More importantly, Marc's detailed plan for the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*, the rich photographic material he had collected and the specimina of

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41 Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit: Bericht und Vorschläge bestimmt für die Versammlung der Internationalen Association der Akademien, St. Petersburg, 11.–17. Mai 1913. München 1913, 2; see also Grau, Das Urkunden-Corpus (as footnote 7 above) 76–77, who quotes from the text included in the minutes of the BAW. Marc remarks there that "Das in einer Reihe von Kasten nach örtlichen Gruppen geordnete Repertorium gestattet nun einen raschen und bequemen Überblick und kann als Grundlage für weitere Forschungen in den Archiven selbst und den Bibliotheken dienen".

42 Bericht und Vorschläge 2–3. Marc comments: "Es besteht die Hoffnung der nächsten Versammlung einen Faszikel vorlegen zu können". That meeting of the IAA was planned for 1916 in Berlin, but obviously never took place because of the war.

43 Bericht und Vorschläge 4. The report includes on p. 5–8 an analytical list of the contents of 20 plates that would be included in the first issue of this facsimile volume, comprising imperial documents from Patmos, Venice, Genua and two Athos monasteries from the 11th to the 15th century; see also Müller, Vom Verschwinden (as footnote 8 above) 311–312.

44 Müller, Heisenberg (as footnote 8 above) 194–195 und Idem, Vom Verschwinden (as footnote 8 above) 310–311. One should, of course, not forget that it was K. Krumbacher, Die Photographie im Dienste der Geisteswissenschaften (mit fünfzehn Tafeln). *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* 17 (1906) 601–659, esp. 601–603, who had insisted on the importance of this new technology for the study of manuscripts.

45 This is convincingly suggested by Müller, Vom Verschwinden (as footnote 8 above) 313 and hesitantly accepted by Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 315 and 394 footnote 21. It is no coincidence that with the growth of Dölger's duties the third volume of the *Regesten* was published seven years after the second volume.

editions and summaries he had prepared not only shaped Dölger's view of scholarly research but also set the structural and notional frame for his work. On the other hand, it does seem probable that Dölger was supported politically in the quick rise of his carreer, and that such a support might be connected to his being a member of the right-wing catholic *Bayerische Volkspartei*,[46] and of the *Stahlhelm*, a paramilitary organization of the former front fighters of the First World War,[47] a point to which I shall return further below.

There is one theme that often and pointedly recurrs in most of Dölger's diplomatic publications related to Mount Athos – almost a kind of Wagnerian *Leitmotiv*. It is the difficulties that face the "European" researcher who wishes to study the documents kept in the archives of these inaccessible monasteries. Some of these difficulties were the highly complex bureaucratic procedures in getting a permission to visit Athos, the presence of uneducated monks, their "simplicity" and even their unwillingness to help scholars in their work; furthermore, the monastic way of life, the short time of stay for visitors in each monastery, finally, the disorderly condition of many of these archives.[48]

The election of Adolf Hitler to the chancellorship of Germany in 1933 brought with it a swift, conscious and systematic change in the broader political landscape, the structure and governance of the state and, concomitantly, to all activities related to the sciences and the arts.[49] According to his own statement,

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46 For a succinct history of the party with bibliography see W. Becker, Bayerische Volkspartei (BVP), 1918 – 1933 (April 2016), in: *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*, URL: <http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Bayerische Volkspartei (BVP), 1918 – 1933> (accessed on 10 – 05 – 2018).

47 See the broad study by V. R. Berghahn, Der Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten 1918 – 1935. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien*, 33. Düsseldorf 1966.

48 Dölger, Der Kodikellos (as footnote 16 above) 65 – 68; Idem, Regesten der Kaiserurkuden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 – 1453, 3. Teil: Regesten von 1204 – 1282. München/Berlin 1932, VI. In Idem, Facsimiles V he only wrote very generally about the difficulties of working in Athos monasteries and refered to his 1929 paper. He repeated this motif in a long description of these difficulties in Idem, Archivarbeit auf dem Athos: Über die Arbeitsbedingungen für die Herausgabe byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 50/51 (1955) 281 – 295, esp. 285 – 289 (repr. in Idem, Παρασπορά. 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches. Ettal 1961, 410 – 429, esp. 415 – 419); see also p. 731 and 735 below.

49 Naturally, the subject has been dealt with extensively and the bibliography is vast. For an excellent introduction see U. Herbert, Geschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert. München 2014; see also the rich collective volume by S. Baranowski / A. Nolzen / C.-C.W. Szejnmann (eds.), A Companion to Nazi Germany. *Wiley Blackwell Companions to World History*, 9. Hoboken/Chichester 2018.

Dölger had voted in the elections of 1933 for his own party, the Bayerische Volkspartei. The Stahlhelm, to which he belonged, was incorporated in 1934 into the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), the paramilitary organization of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP). Dölger stepped out of the SA and never became a member of Hitler's party. Despite this fact, his involvement with a specific action of the NSDAP – an expedition to Mount Athos in July 1941 – resulted for Dölger in an embarrasing scandal after the end of the war. In 1946 he got caught up in the legal procedures of the Military Government of the Allied Forces in their effort at the denazification of Germany. He was accused of collaboration with the Nazi regime, was removed for two years from his chair at the University and his seat at the Academy, and was forced to live in "exile" at the Byzantine Institute of the Benedictine Monastery of Scheyern, supported through his connections to the Catholic Church.[50] For a number of reasons, the Athos Expedition was of paramount importance for Dölger since he was able to finally study "without restrictions" the archives of the Athonite monastic community. Even though diplomatics might seem to be unrelated to the study of Byzantine literature, in fact, diplomatics very much reflected Dölger's *Weltanschauung* wherein systematization and order played an important role that, ultimately, was fundamental for what I have termed his "hieratic model" of Byzantine literature. Similarly, even if the Nazi regime and its political-ideological strategies might seem also far removed from the study of Byzantine literature, the context of 1935–1945, in which Dölger formulated some of his most important concepts for understanding Byzantium, was to prove rather closely connected to some of his concerns.

50 This Byzantine Institute at Scheyern had been founded in 1939 by Johannes Maria Hoeck (1902–1995) and Hans-Georg Beck (1910–1999), and was directed by Hoeck until he moved to become abbot of Ettal Monastery in 1951, where he founded another Byzantinist Institute, while the Scheyern Institute continued devoting its energies to an edition of the works of John of Damascus; see F. Dölger, Die Johannes-Damaskenos-Ausgabe des Byzantinischen Instituts Scheyern. *Byz* 20 (1950) 303–314 and summarily Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 319–320. Hoeck had defended his dissertation under Dölger's supervision in 1943. It is in Scheyern that Dölger worked on his study of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, published in 1953 in Ettal as volume 1 of the series *Studia Patristica et Byzantina* founded by Hoeck and edited by him and Dölger (for the full reference see below footnote 183). It was also Hoeck who had edited the 1951 Festschrift for Dölger in the *BZ* (see footnote 28 above).

2. The Athos Expedition of July 1941 and the 1946 scandal

As it happened for a vast spectrum of major and minor military and paramilitary actions of the Nazi regime, the Athos expedition of July 1941 is fairly well documented since there survive (i) various documents pertaining to the expedition preserved in German archives,[51] (ii) a number of documents and various statements written or published by Dölger,[52] and (iii) a set of specific publications directly related to or resulting from this expedition.[53] After the publication of the *Festschrift* in honour of Dölger's sixtieth birthday in 1951, the Athos expedition of 1941 and the subsequent scandal receded into the shadows of post-war Germany's disturbing past. However, in many instances of scandals resulting from an abrupt change of regime in moments of high crisis, as was the case for Germany after the Second World War, the situation was far more complex. The motives behind the attitudes taken up or the actions undertaken by the people involved are far more difficult to interpret than the later testimonies might make

51 Bundesarchiv Berlin, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts Berlin, Militärisches Archiv Freiburg, Hauptstaatsarchiv München.

52 On the one hand, a set of material from the various archives of the BAW: the personal dossier ("Personalakte") of Dölger, minutes from the assembly meetings of the Academy, the archive of the Kommission des Corpus der griechischen Urkunden; on the other, a series of popularizing publications by Dölger in journals connected to the Nazi regime; some of these have never been used before.

53 One scholarly article (1941) and one scholarly book (1948), one "coffee-table" album (1943), and two popularizing articles (1942). To my knowledge, there are three publications that look into the Athos Expedition, and they are all connected to the study of Mount Athos, even if from different perspectives. These are: D. G. Tsamis, Ἅγιον Ὄρος: Προσέγγιση στὴ σύγχρονη ἱστορία του. Thessaloniki 1985 (repr. 2007), 47 – 53 (with the use of various documents from Greek and German military archives); V. Della Dora, Imagining Mount Athos: visions of a holy place from Homer to World War II. Charlottesville/ London 2011, 185 – 194 (using secondary sources); A. Müller, "Eine stille Märcheninsel frommer Beschaulichkeit mitten in dem alles mitreißenden und alles wandelnden Strome der Geschichte"? Der Athos im Zeitalter des Nationalsozialismus, in R. Flogaus/J. Wasmuth (eds.), Orthodoxie im Dialog: Historische und aktuelle Perspektiven. Festschrift für Heinz Ohme. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 130. Berlin/ Boston 2015, 337 – 369 (extensive use of primary sources). Tsamis and Della Dora present the Athos Expedition as being primarily concerned with the looting of the Athonite "treasures", which was not the case; both treatments include various inaccuracies (e. g. Tsamis misrepresents the policy of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, on which see further below; Della Dora credits Dölger for having written all the captions of the Athos book), but they do offer a broad and interesting interpretation of this "scholarly expedition" to the Holy Mountain.

them appear, while the results from such actions are not easily perceived if not looked at a distance of time and with a broad gaze.[54]

Important for the present paper is the way in which Dölger viewed Byzantine literature and the way in which he presented his own scholarly work in relation (or even contrast) to that of his two predecessors on the Munich chair. For it is with Dölger that a noticeable shift in the direction of research and scholarly production at the Munich Seminar in the decade before the Second World War took place, because historical studies began to take precedence over philological ones. This shift has been noticed[55] but not explained. Obviously, already Krumbacher had perceived "Byzantinistik" as an all-encompassing historical-philological discipline, and this he most clearly expressed in his preface to the first volume of the *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, dated March 1892.[56] It is because of this conviction that he invited the renowned historian Heinrich Gelzer (1847–1906) to contribute an overview of Byzantine history for GBL. However, both Krumbacher and Heisenberg focused (even if in different ways and for different subjects) on philological research, which at the time meant textual criticism, literary history and linguistics, rather than literary criticism. Dölger, by choosing to work in diplomatics, went a different path that proved to have some consequences, on the one hand, for the role of Byzantine Philology as a distinct field within Byzantine Studies and, on the other, for the approach to textual production in Byzantium as "literature". It is to this development in Dölger's self-representation that the Athos Expedition offers important insights.

54 For the presence and role of National Socialism in the Humanities in Germany see O.G. Oexle / H. Lehmann (eds.), Nationalsozialismus in den Kulturwissenschaften. Band 1: Fächer, Milieus, Karrieren. Band 2: Leitbegriffe, Deutungsmuster, Paradigmenkämpfe – Erfahrungen und Transformationen im Exil. Göttingen 2004; and A. Szabó, Vertreibung, Rückkehr, Wiedergutmachung: Göttinger Hochschullehrer im Schatten des Nationalsozialismus. Göttingen 2000. For the study of a paradigmatic case see the recent study by C. Deglau, Der Althistoriker Franz Hampl zwischen Nazionalsozialismus und Demokratie: Kontinuität und Wandel im Fach Alte Geschichte. Wiesbaden 2017. For far more extreme cases in the study of the Orient and of Religion see E. Ellinger, Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1945. Edingen-Neckarhausen 2006 and H. Junginger (ed.), The study of religion under the impact of Fascism. Leiden/Boston 2008, esp. 107–202 (five contributions to "The Aryan Myth").
55 Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 315–316.
56 K. Krumbacher, Vorwort. *BZ* 1 (1892) 1–12, esp. 2–4; on the preface and its impact see Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 14–16.

2.1. The expedition: Some technical facts

We shall start our examination of the Athos Expedition and the subsequent scandal with a public statement that comes from Dölger's pen and was included in an important scholarly paper in which he sets the framework for the Athos "document project". The paper is Dölger's study about the authenticity of the famous "Tragos", a kind of typikon drafted in 971 or 972, signed by Emperor John Tzimiskes and the abbots of the then existing monasteries on Athos. The paper was originally published in the second issue of the *BZ* of 1941[57] and reprinted in Dölger's 1956 collection of articles on Byzantine diplomatics; it is usually quoted from this latter collection.[58] In the 1956 republication, the paper opens with a very brief preface referring to the achievements of the scholarly expedition to Athos. However, in the original publication of 1941 we find a very different preface, and it this that will be quoted here in full:[59]

> Wie anderwärts in den besetzten Gebieten haben Wehrmacht, Staat und NSDAP des Deutschen Reiches während dieses Krieges auch in Griechenland nicht versäumt, die Förderung oder Lösung solcher wissenschaftlicher Fragen oder Aufgaben in Angriff zu nehmen, deren Objekte oder Materialien nun unter einmalig günstigen Umständen den damit beschäftigten Gelehrten zugänglich gemacht werden konnten. So hat im Wettbewerb mit anderen Unternehmungen auch der Einsatzstab des Reichsleiters Rosenberg alsbald nach Besetzung des griechischen Gebietes durch deutsche Truppen u. a. eine Forschungsfahrt nach dem Berge Athos unter seine Pläne aufgenommen und den Verfasser, der bis dahin in militärischer Verwendung am Feldzuge teilgenommen hatte, mit der Durchführung des Vorhabens beauftragt. Die Expedition wurde mit großzügiger materieller Unterstützung und verständnisvollster Anteilnahme der Wehrmachtdienststellen in der Zeit vom 1. bis zum 31. Juli 1941 durchgeführt. Die Bereisung des Heiligen Berges, welche nach Karyes und in 17 Großklöster führte, erfolgte auf Grund der im Frieden üblichen Empfehlungen der zuständigen griechischen Staats- und Kirchenbehörden, denen sich jetzt solche der deutschen Besatzungsbehörden zugesellten, mit der dankenswerten Förderung der höchsten Athosbehörden sowie mit der überall bereitwilligen Unterstützung der einzelnen Klöster. Dank diesen Umständen erbrachte die Expedition insgesamt etwa 1800 Aufnahmen von Kunst- und Kultgegeständen, Hss und Urkunden, die nach Anweisung des Verfassers zum Teil durch Herrn Kress (Großaufnahme), zum Teil durch Herrn Dr. Treitinger hergestellt wurden, sowie viele Hunderte von wissenschaftlichen Beschreibungen. Eine Auswahl dieser Bilder mit begleitendem Text wird demnächst als Album vom Amte des Reichsleiters Rosenberg im Druck herausgegeben werden und soll der Erschließung der kulturgeschichtlichen Erscheinung des Heiligen Berges für einen weiteren Leserkreis dienen. Anschließend daran wird der Verfasser in einem mit Abbildungen reich ausgestatten Bericht über die reichen, jetzt schon greifbaren oder in

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57 F. Dölger, Die Echtheit des "Tragos". *BZ* 41 (1941) 340–350.
58 Idem, Byzantinische Diplomatik (as footnote 36 above) 215–224.
59 Idem, Die Echtheit 340–341.

> Zukunft zu erwartenden fachwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise Rechenschaft ablegen. Sie liegen hauptsächlich auf dem Gebiete des Urkundenmaterials und seiner Auswertung und sind ein Beitrag zur Erfüllung einer alten Ehrenpflicht, welche die deutsche Wissenschaft seit langen Jahren mit dem Plane der Herausgabe der griechischen Urkunden übernommen hat.

On the pages of the most established journal of Byzantine Studies, Dölger as editor of the journal presented in succinct and clear form the military, political and scientific framework of the expedition. As explicitly stated, this expedition had been planed by the *Reich Leader Rosenberg Taskforce* ("Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg" = ERR) *in competion with other undertakings* ("im Wettbewerb mit anderen Unternehmungen"), while *the author had been formally commissioned to carry out the project* ("den Verfasser ... mit der Durchführung des Vorhabens beauftragt"). The ERR was an important agency of the NSDAP and instrumental in the *Safekeeping* ("Sicherstellung") of all kinds of material from libraries, archives and museums from the territories occupied by the Reich for the purpose of studying, understanding and ultimately stopping the infiltration of Europe by Jews, Bolshevics and Freemasons.[60] Dölger's comment on "the other undertakings" is an oblique reference to the French project of editing the archival documents of the Athos monasteries, to which I shall return further below. The militarist tone of this preface is unmistakeable since, in the eyes of Dölger, the 1941 conditions of war and the occupation of Greece removed the difficulties posed during peaceful times in studying the archives of the Athos monasteries, an implicit reference to the motif of "monastic difficulties". The triad "army, state and party" and the involvement of the ERR make it unambiguously clear that high Nazi political agendas were at stake, especially since the fifty-year-old Dölger was under military service in the rank of *Captain of the Territorial Army* ("Hauptmann der Landwehr") from February until December 1941 ("der bis dahin in militärischer Verwendung am Feldzuge teilgenommen hatte"), accompanying the army in its swift and successful campaign against Yugoslavia and

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60 On *Safekeeping* as a disguised, immensely extensive looting see G. Aalders, Nazi looting: the plunder of Dutch Jewry during the Second World War. Amsterdam 2004; J. Petropoulos, The Faustian bargain: the art world in Nazi Germany. New York 2000; A. Heuss, Kunst- und Kulturgutraub: Studie zur Besatzungspolitik der Nationalsozialisten in Frankreich und der Sowjetunion. Heidelberg 2000; H.C. Löhr, Kunst als Waffe: Der Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg – Ideologie und Kunstraub im "Dritten Reich". Berlin 2018 with substantial bibliography; on the undisguised looting conducted by Fieldmarshal Göring see H.C. Löhr, Der eiserne Sammler: Die Kollektion Hermann Göring – Kunst und Korruption im "Dritten Reich". Berlin 2009.

Greece as a specialist in the language and history of the latter country.[61] In the preface of the "Tragos" paper, Dölger makes an effort to present the expedition on Athos as an action fully legitimated by the necessary permits of the Greek State and Church authorities, as well as those of the German occupation authorities, and fully sanctioned by the monastic community through the *commendable support* ("dankenswerte Förderung") of the highest Athos authorities and the *broadly eager assistance* ("überall bereitwillige Unterstützung") of the individual monasteries.[62]

The expedition to Mount Athos was specifically conducted by the *Special Unit Greece of the Reich Leader Rosenberg Taskforce for the Occupied Territories* ("Sonderkommando Griechenland des Einsatzstabes Reichsleiter Rosenberg für die besetzten Gebiete") under the command of Lieutenant Hermann Ritter von Ingram, and with the support of the German military authorities.[63] The expedition was led by Dölger, who had received a special leave of absence from his military service. The other members were: Dr. Otto Treitinger, Byzantinist and Dölger's assistant in Munich (about whom see below p. 741 and 751–753); Reichshauptstellenleiter Anton Deindl, head of the section on Religious Studies of the ERR;[64] Stabsfeldwebel Karl Kress as photographer;[65] Dr. Siotis, a theolo-

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61 Questionnaire, p. 2 question nr. 29 presents a detailed list of all of Dölger's military service. In an explanatory note to this list Dölger states: "Der Ast Rumänien, dem Kommando Schmalschläger und dem Wehrmachtverbindungsstab Athen gehörte ich nicht auf Planstelle, sondern nur als sprachkundige Hilfskraft an. Vom 28. 5. 41 bis 3. 12. 41 war ich zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken beurlaubt und habe während dieser Zeit keinerlei militärischen Dienst getan". This statement is inexact; see below footnote 71 and 119.

62 It seems that no sense of ill-feeling remained among monastic circles on the Holy Mountain after the expedition, while there were monks who believed that Dölger had saved Athos and its treasures from the rapacious Bulgarians. I owe this information to Erich Lamberz and his acquaintance of more than forty years with the librarians of Vatopedi Monastery.

63 Hermann Ingram (1903–1995), a native Austrian, had been a member of the Austrian NSDAP since 1934, fought in 1939 in the Polish campaign (for which he received the medal of the Knight of the Iron Cross, hence his full name with the nobility mark), worked 1941–1944 at the ERR Sonderkommando, received in 1943 the office of SS-Hauptsturmführer. See the biographical data in S. Berger / E. Lewin / S. Schmid / M. Vassilikou (eds.), Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945. Band 14: Besetztes Südosteuropa und Italien. Berlin/Boston 2017, 535 footnote 2 (Document no. 208, being an edition of BArch NS 30/75, f. 0474682–0474691; it is the report of Ingram on the activities of the Sonderkommando Griechenland as it closed its operation on 15 November 1941).

64 I have not been able to find any information on Deindl's biography. As head of the Religious Studies section of the ERR, he was responsible since 1940 for organizing confiscations of documents from ecclesiastical and episcopal secretariats in all of the occupied territories; see N. Gutsul, Der Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg und seine Tätigkeit in der Ukraine, 1941–1944

gian at the university of Athens, and Mr. Tsingiritis, the former as research assistant, the latter as translator.[66]

For the Military Government of the Allied Forces in 1946, the involvement of Dölger in an expedition organized by the ERR certainly appeared as an incriminating collaboration, given the criminal activities of this agency. It should be pointed out that the ERR was called into existence in 1940 by Alfred Rosenberg (1893 – 1946), Hitler's chief ideologist and head of the *Agency of the Führer's Commissioner for the Surveillance of the Complete Intellectual and Ideological Instruction and Education of the NSDAP* ("Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP").[67] The "Amt Rosenberg", as it was mostly referred to, was founded in 1934. By 1940 it had expanded into an immense, completely independent bureaucratic mechanism of great power and influence.[68] Since

(Unpublished Phd thesis, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen). Gießen 2013, 40; furthermore, a substantial set of documents appended to the Athos-Expedition dossier (BArch NS 15/639, f. 102 – 179) deal with other activities of Deindl and of his collaborators, such as interviews with ecclesiastical dignitaries, confiscation of libraries, project reports and propanda assessments up to early 1943.

65 Kress (b. 1900, date of death unknown) worked as accomplished photographer for the ERR since 1940 and until 1944; for an excellent account of his life, based on his own memories, up to the point where he vanishes from history in 1946, see the article by G. Bradsher, Karl Kress, photographer for the ERR and the Third U.S. Army MFA & special evacuation team, in: The National Archive. The Text Message Blog, 21 August 2014, at https://text-message.blogs.archives.-gov/2014/08/21/karl-kress/ (accessed 14 – 05 – 2018). In the article a few lines are devoted to the Athos expedition, where Kress expressed the opinion that in his understanding the expedition was for presenting the ERR with good photographic propaganda material.

66 Substantial details about the expedition are provided in the report of Ingram to the central authorities of the ERR after the conclusion of the whole action; see BArch NS 15/639, f. 61 – 64, dated 03 – 08 – 1941.

67 On Rosenberg in general and his grand project of *Safekeeping* see, indicatively, E. Piper, Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe. München 2005 and Löhr, Kunst als Waffe (as footnote 60 above). For a fascinating retelling of one case of such a "Sicherstellung" see the recent psychoanalytical novel by I. Yalom, The Spinoza problem. New York 2012, in which the removal of Spinoza's library from Amsterdam to Frankfurt forms (as the fictive obsession of Rosenberg) a major part of the complex plot.

68 On the Amt Rosenberg more specifically see R. Bollmus, Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem. München/Oldenburg 2006[2] (originally published in 1970). On the strong involvement of various intellectuals in the operation of the Amt Rosenberg see G. Leaman, Deutsche Philosophen und das "Amt Rosenberg", in I. Korotin (ed.), "Die besten Geister der Nation": Philosophie und Nationalsozialismus. Wien 1994, 41 – 65. For a succinct presentation of organization and bureaucratism of the NSDAP see A. Nolzen, The NSDAP after 1933: Members, positions, technologies, interactions, in

April 1941, that is, at the time of the German invasion in the Balkans, Rosenberg appointed as director general of the ERR his closest and earliest collaborator, Stabsleiter Gerhard Utikal (1912–1982), who had been the person responsible for organizing the looting of the Paris art collections in 1940.[69]

As Dölger writes in the preface of the "Tragos" paper, the expedition proved to be a success. For not only were some 1800 photographs taken of all kinds of objects (manuscripts, documents, icons, liturgical vessels, vestments), scenes of daily life on Athos, as well as landscapes and buildings, but also a large number of descriptions/ transcriptions of documents were made. The various historical and ideological aspects of the expedition, along with its broader political and military framework, but also its narrower interpersonal difficulties have been presented in a recent article by Andreas Müller (Kiel), who used the substantial documentation preserved in the Bundesarchiv and the Politisches Archiv of the German Foreign Office. Thus, there is no need to summarize here the extensive results (often corrective to previous scholarship) of this excellent study.[70]

It has been noted already that Dölger was officially on military duty in Romania and Greece from early February until early December 1941; however, he was given a leave of absence at the end of May 1941 in order to lead the expedi-

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Baranowksi/Nolzen/Szejnmann, Companion (as footnote 49 above) 97–114 (with substantial bibliography).

69 There exists no biography proper of Utikal, but the respective entry in the German Wikipedia offers the basic facts along with a good bibliography at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerhard_Utikal (accessed on 14–05–2018). Utikal went undercover in 1945, was discovered in 1947, and ultimately imprisoned in Paris from where he was released in 1951. He is most famously known for his "study" of Jewish ritual murder, a legend that had become immensily popular in Germany in the late 19th century; see G. Utikal, Der jüdische Ritualmord: Eine nichtjüdische Darstellung. Breslau 1935 (and further 14 editions with revisions and additions up to 1941).

70 Müller, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 343–356. On these pages the author quotes extensively from the unpublished travel diary preserved under the title "Tagebuchaufzeichnungen über die Athosexpedition des Sonderstabes Athos des Sonderkommandos Rosenberg für Griechenland, 2.–31. Juli 1941" (BArch NS 15/639, f. 65–80). At the very end of this document (Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 79–80), a colophon indicates that the text had been dictated by Dölger to Treitinger and that the present document is a typescript of this handwritten diary. Obvioulsy, Ingram, in preparing a dossier for reporting to the relevant military authorities, had the diary typed; see also Ingram's surviving letter to Deindl (BArch NS 16/639, f. 60, dated 25–09–1941), where he sends him a carbon copy ("Durchschrift") of Dölger's "Tagebuchaufzeichnungen". Another version of this diary is kept in the Kommission für das Corpus der griechischen Urkunden at the BAW as part of Dölger's *Nachlass*, which I was not able to consult; however, see the paper by P. Schreiner/A. E. Müller, Die Reiseprotokolle Franz Dölgers zu den Handschriftenforschungen auf dem Heiligen Berg 1928 und 1941. Mit einem Anhang: Das Athos-Tagebuch von Antonios Sigalas (1928), in O. Delouis/K. Smyrlis (eds.), Lire les archives de l'Athos. Paris (forthcoming).

tion to Mount Athos. He returned to Munich immediately after the conclusion of the expedition. His dossier at the BAW includes a one-page list-like report on his scholarly activities during the academic year 1941–1942.[71] Among the public lectures listed, we find as no. 3 the following item: "Altes und Neues vom Berge Athos. Von der deutschen Athosexpedition des Kriegssommers 1941. Lichtbildvortrag in der Vereinigung der Freunde des humanistischen Gymnasiums (zusammen mit der Deutschgriechischen Gesellschaft München) am 5.II.1942".[72] Among the published studies and articles listed in the report, we find as no. 6 the following item: "Mönchsland Athos. Die Ergebnisse der Athosexpedition des Reichsleiters Rosenberg im Juli 1941 (Bildwerk von etwa 300 Seiten mit etwa 200 Abbildungen, zusammen mit E. Weigand und A. Deindl, Redaktion F. Dölger) (im Erscheinen)". Parallel, then, to the presentation in the "Tragos" paper on the expedition to Mount Athos as an action of the Amt Rosenberg, Dölger also presents the expedition as such in the two items of the 1942 report to the BAW. The phrase "On the German Athos Expedition of the War Summer 1941" in the public talk clearly echoes official propaganda phraseology of the Nazi regime, while the reference to the ERR in the subtitle of the book is more than obvious.

2.2. Three minor publications in Nazi periodicals

Before looking more closely at *Mönchsland Athos* further below, we shall devote our attention here to three articles of a popularizing character, one published be-

71 Doc. no. 4780, dated 13–06–1942. In this report there is (i) a difference in the dates of his military service as reported therein (7/2/1941–8/12/1941) and the Questionnaire filled out four years later (13/2/1941–3/12/1941), and, more importantly (ii) a difference in the presentation of his military service, since in the Questionnaire he explains that he was on leave from military duty from 28/5 to 3/12/1941 (see the text quoted above footnote 61), whereas in the report he unequivocally states that he was on full duty: "Meine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit war durch Wehrmachtsdienst in Rumänien und Griechenland vom 7. II. bis zur Wieder-Uk.-Stellung am 8. XII. 1941 unterbrochen". The *Wiederunabkömmlichstellung* is the NS technical term for the release of soldiers from their military service because of the particular specialization of their work; see also further below p. 741 and footnote 119.

72 The exceptional propaganda value of such a talk can be confirmed by the fact that a series of 100 colour slides from a selection of the pictures taken in 1941 had been prepered in Munich under Dölger's specifications and were handed over to the ERR (BArch NS 15/639, f. 31, Dölger to Deindl, dated 12–02–1942). A selection of 50 slides were given to Dölger "on loan" for this talk, which he then returned to Deindl in Berlin (BArch NS 15/639, f. 20, dated 19–10–1942). It should be noted that in the list of activities that accompanied the 1946 Questionnaire (appendix to section G, p. 6), Dölger refers to this lecture simply as "Der Athos".

fore the expedition and two appearing shortly thereafter. The first of these articles presents the achievements of German scholarship in Balkan Studies over the past century (1850 – 1940), while the other two concern specifically the Athos Expedition.

The first article was originally given as a festive talk in December 1939 on "The achievement of German scholarship into the research of the Balkans in the past century" during the *German Book Week* ("Deutsche Buchwoche"), organized in Belgrade by the *Academy for the Scientific Research and for the Cultivation of Germanhood* ("Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums" or, simply, "Deutsche Akademie").[73] The article is filled with terminology and concepts that reflect Nazi ideology, for example, the blood-bond of a "Volk" as essential to develop a new dynamism in historical studies; the natural conditions for the development of people, countries and ideas; the critique of bourgeois liberalism, historicism and scepticism, the universalist trait of the *German essence* ("deutsches Wesen").[74] Dölger's overview of the achievements of German Balkan Studies (to which, obviously, Austrian scholarship belonged since the "Anschluß" of 1938) is divided into two periods, from 1850 to 1920 and from 1920 to the author's present.[75] The year 1920 strikes the

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73 F. Dölger, Die Leistung der deutschen Wissenschaft für die Erforschung des Balkans im letzten Jahrhundert. *Deutsche Kultur im Leben der Völker. Mitteilungen der Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums* 15 (1940) 161 – 176. The German Academy had been founded as a private society in Munich in 1925, and was the actual forerunner of the postwar "Goethe Institut". Since 1933, however, it was being gradually transformed into a major instrument of Nazi propaganda and came in 1941 under the control of the Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels; see E. Michels, Deutsche Akademie, in *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns* <http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Deutsche Akademie, 1925 – 1945> (accessed on 26 – 02 – 2018); Idem, Von der Deutschen Akademie zum Goethe-Institut: Sprach- und auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1923 – 1960. *Studien zur Zeitgeschichte*, 70. München 2005. Within the promotion of the *national idea* ("völkischer Gedanke"), a special interest of the German Academy lay in the cultivation of "folklore" research, especially of the Balkans; see E. Harvolk, Eichenzweig und Hakenkreuz: Die Deutsche Akademie in München (1924 – 1962) und ihre volkskundliche Sektion. *Münchner Beiträge zur Volkskunde*, 11. München 1990; O.G. Oexle (ed.), Krise des Historismus – Krise der Wirklichkeit: Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur 1880 – 1932. Göttingen 2007.

74 Dölger, Leistung 161, 162 – 163, 164 – 165. On these concepts as essential to Nazi ideology see H. Graml / W. Benz / H. Buchheim / H. Mommsen (eds.), Der Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Ideologie und Herrschaft. Frankfurt a.M. 1993; G. Corni / H. Gies, Blut und Boden: Rassenideologie und Agrarpolitik im Staat Hitlers. Idstein 1994; W. Wippermann, Der konsequente Wahn. Ideologie und Politik Adolf Hitlers. Gütersloh 1989.

75 Dölger, Die Leistung 163: "Was ich hier in kurzen Worten als das Wesensbild der Forschung im Zeitraume von etwa 1850 bis 1920 zu zeichnen versucht habe, ist die allgemeine wissen-

modern reader as odd given that the First World War ended in 1918. But, in my opinion, 1920 as a date combines a personal and a public chronological marker. On the one hand, it was in January 1920 that Dölger took up his part-time position at the Bavarian Academy, thus becoming formally a Byzantinist researcher; on the other, this date gestures to the direction of the Nazi regime since it was in February 1920 that Hitler and his close friends founded the NSDAP out of the DAP.[76] Dölger brings his overview towards its conclusion with the following statement:[77]

> Das gewiß imposante Stück deutscher wissenschaftlicher Leistung für die Erforschung des Balkans aus der Zeit unserer Väter und Großväter, das ich vor Ihnen ausbreiten durfte, vielleicht überraschend reich und vielgestaltig für denjenigen, der die Geschichte der Balkanforschung noch nicht auf den Anteil der nicht-balkanischen Völker hin betrachtet hat, bedeutet für uns Jüngere eine heilige Verpflichtung: in der von einem neuen Geiste erfüllten Aufgabe, welche eine neue Zeit uns stellt, wollen wir hinter unseren Vorfahren nicht zurückstehen.

In contrast to the remarks of his teacher Heisenberg about the dangers of too strong a nationalist approach to the study of Byzantium as part of the history of the Balkan nations (see p. 714 – 715 above), Dölger openly endorses the division between “Balkan” and “non-Balkan people” studying the Balkans, and calls upon “us the younger ones” (*qua* the current generation of German scholars) to take upon them a *holy obligation* (“heilige Verpflichtung”) that consists in surpassing their forefathers *in this task fulfilled by a new spirit that is being dictated by a new age* (“in der von einem neuen Geiste erfüllten Aufgabe, welche eine neue Zeit uns stellt”).[78] The phrase, without mentioning the Nazi regime, is absolutely in tune with its broader ideological framework. The article ends with a long paragraph, wherein the speaker asks of the various Balkan peoples to offer their cooperation to German scholars, because the help of the former is needed to allow the latter to pursue their excellent research concerning the Bal-

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schaftliche Entwicklung, an welcher indessen die deutsche Wissenschaft allezeit führend und wegweisend beteiligt ist”.

76 On the history of the party see, indicatively, D. Orlow, The history of the Nazi party. Volume 1: 1919 – 1933. Newton Abbot (UK) 1969; K. Pätzold / M. Weissbecker, Geschichte der NSDAP 1920 bis 1945. Köln [3]2009; J.W. Falter (ed.), Junge Kämpfer, alte Opportunisten: Die Mitglieder der NSDAP 1919 – 1945. Frankfurt a.M. 2016.

77 Dölger, Leistung 175.

78 For a contemporary critique of these concepts see E. Bloch, Zur Originalgeschichte des Dritten Reichs [1935], in idem, Erbschaft dieser Zeit. *Ernst Bloch Gesamtausgabe*, 4. Frankfurt a.M. 1977, 126 – 160; for a modern critique of these concepts and a corrective note to Bloch see C.-E. Bärsch, Die politische Religion des Nationalsozialismus. München 1998, 47 – 55.

kans, something that will promote *the understanding and the trusting collaboration* ("das Verständnis und die vertrauensvolle Mitarbeit") between the two peoples.[79] We should not forget that this talk was delivered only three months after Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939 and the formal beginning of the Second World War. Thus, the rhetoric of trust and cooperation Dölger employs has a colonialist sound to it by means of which the superiority of the imperial power over its potential subjects is established, as indeed it happened some sixteen months later in April 1941 when Germany invaded Yugoslavia and Greece. But Dölger's plea for a "trusting cooperation" also reminds the readers of his earlier papers of his complaints about the "monastic difficulties" he encountered on Mount Athos.

The other two articles were published in 1942 and relate directly to the Athos Expedition. The first one is a brief report about the expedition, published in the popularizing journal *Europäischer Wissenschafts-Dienst* (= *EWD*), created by the Amt Rosenberg and, thus, at the forefront of Nazi propaganda.[80] Here the motif of "monastic difficulties" is fully played out. Dölger comes to speak about the founding of the BAW research project and how he was faced with these difficulties when he was sent to Athos in 1928 and 1930 to conduct research there. He then describes how the French, when they launched in 1918 a project under Gabriel Millet to photograph on Mount Athos frescoes, art works and documents, forced their way in 1919 with the help of the Ottoman army and a warship, a

79 Ibid. 176. The following might serve as indicative of the rhetoric employed: "Was wir dabei aber außer unserer eigenen Kraft und außer unserer klaren Zielsetzung noch von außen her brauchen, um vorwärts zu kommen, das ist das Verständnis und die vertrauensvolle Mitarbeit der Völker auf dem Balkan und insbesondere ihrer wissenschaftlichen Führer [...] Ihre Hilfe ist uns unentbehrlich. Wenn wir deutschen Gelehrten aber bei ihnen um Vertrauen werben für unsere weitere Arbeit auf dem Gebiete der Balkanforschung, so dürfen wir es wohl getrost tun im Hinblick auf die bisherige Leistung deutscher Wissenschaft für den Balkan".

80 F. Dölger, Deutsche Forschung auf dem Athos im Kriegsjahre 1941, *Europäischer Wissenschafts-Dienst* 2 (1942) No. 16, 11 – 12. The *EWD* was created in 1940 and was led by Dr. Günther Lutz (1910 – 1946), founding member of the Amt Rosenberg and member of the party since 1931, after having been fully active in the Hitlerjugend since 1926, when still at school. He was trialed under Soviet military law and executed in 1946. See G. Leaman, Philosophy, Alfred Rosenberg and the military application of the Social Sciences. *Jahrbuch für Soziologiegeschichte* 1992, 242 – 261 with bibliography. Indicative of the strict control exercised by the Amt Rosenberg over all material published under the aegis of the NSDAP is the document BArch NS 15/639, f. 22 (dated 02 – 09 – 1942). Therein it is made clear that Dölger's article was handed over by Lutz to the ERR section responsible for "Science Observation and Evaluation" for approval of its content; the head of the section then asked Deindl for his opinion.

clear act of military pressure ("unter Anwendung militärischer Druckmittel"). But the situation changed when he returned to Athos eleven years later:[81]

> 1941 erbot sich nun durch die neue Lage die Möglichkeit, sich, frei von den friedensmäßigen Schikanen, einen Einblick in die eigenartige Welt des östlichen Mönchtums auf den Athos zu verschaffen und zugleich der Wissenschaft einen wesentlichen Dienst zu erweisen. [...] Die Unternehmung sollte ohne jeglichen militärischen oder politischen Druck, mit den friedensmäßigen Empfehlungen unter Beifügung von Empfehlungen der deutschen militärischen Dienststellen vonstatten gehen. [...] Der Kreuz- und Querritt durch die Halbinsel – man muß hier auf zahlreiche lokale, u. a. auch kalenderbedingte Behinderungen der Arbeit Rücksicht nehmen – , führte uns durch 18 der insgesamt 20 Großklöster: 15 griechische, 1 bulgarisches, 1 serbisches und 1 russisches. Auch hier war die Aufnahme überall freundlich und entgegenkommend, in den meisten Klöstern sogar ausgesprochen herzlich; begrüßte man in uns doch nicht nur die Vertreter des großen, bei den Griechen stets hochangesehenen, wegen seiner wissenschaftlichen und technischen Leistungen bewunderten deutschen Volkes, sondern des soeben den gottlosen Bolschewismus mit siegreichen Fahnen angetretenen deutschen Heeres. [...] Es gelang uns im Laufe von 4 Wochen, in stetigem besten Einvernehmen mit den Mönchen Landschaften, Gebäude in Außen- und Innenansicht, Wandmalereien, Ikonen, Kleinkunstgegenstände, Miniaturen und Urkunden sowie charakteristische Bilder aus dem Leben der Athosmönche in reicher Fülle im Bilde einzufangen.

Focusing on the publications that will result from the expedition, the report ends with the following sentence:[82]

> Die deutsche Wissenschaft wird also in der Lage sein, durch diese Veröffentlichungen eine vor vier Jahrzehnten vor der Welt übernommene Ehrenpflicht, die bisher wegen der friedensmäßigen Schwierigkeiten der Bereisung des Athos nicht erfüllt werden konnte, durch die Ergebnisse eines erfolgreichen Kriegseinsatzes wesentlich zu fördern.

As in the preface to the "Tragos" paper, Dölger makes all effort to present the German expedition as having been conducted in a legitimate manner with no military pressure. The fact that the expedition was successful because it was taking place in an occupied territory, while the party and army authorities were in all respects behind it, does not seem to present any problems to the writer of these lines. On the contrary, the difficulties encountered in the previous missions to the Holy Mountain are characterised as *peacetime harassments* ("friedensmäßige Schikanen"). Dölger thus suggests that because of a *successful military intervention* ("eines erfolgreichen Kriegseinsatzes"), German scholarship will be able to promote the *bounden duty* ("Ehrenpflicht") it *publicly* ("vor der Welt") took on

81 Dölger, Deutsche Forschung 11 – 12.
82 Ibid. 12.

forty years ago. What Dölger characterizes in this high flown style is the official acceptance in 1901 of the Association Internationale des Académies in its first meeting in Paris to support the proposal of the BAW to create the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden.*[83] This public bounden duty had been offended by Millet and the French Expedition of 1918/1919, so that the German Expedition of 1941 in a sense put the record straight. This brief article in the *EWD* reveals much about Dölger's motives to use his high Nazi connections, the opportunity of the war and the occupation of Greece to complete a job he had left unfinished in his two previous visits. I would suggest that two of his motives revealed here are the personal ambition to bring to conclusion the monumental project that Krumbacher and Heisenberg had not succeeded in finishing, and a militarist competition with the French as victors in the First World War where he had fought and distinguished himself.

The second article on the Athos Expedition was published in *Bulgaria: Jahrbuch der Deutsch–Bulgarischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, another popularizing but thematically defined journal that also served high Nazi propaganda.[84] In this article Dölger describes the visit of the expedition to the Bulgarian monastery of Zographou.[85] Among other things, the war and the admiration of the monks for the recent successes of the German Army against Bolshevism were discussed,[86] while the *alliance* ("Bundesgenossenschaft") of the two nations was underlined. Finally, at the moment of departure the monks presented their German guests with "the request for a picture of the Führer" ("die Bitte um ein Bild des Führers vorgetragen wurde").[87]

83 See Plan eines Corpus der griechischen Urkunden (as footnote 39 above) 4 – 5.
84 The journal was formally edited by Ewald von Massow (1869 – 1942), Generalleutnant and SS-Gruppenführer, Amtsleiter at the General Directorate of the NSDAP, director since 1933 of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) and, because of his military and diplomatic service in Serbia and Bulgaria (1908 – 1913), president of the German-Bulgarian Society. On this society (founded in 1916) see O. STEIN, Die deutsch-bulgarischen Beziehungen seit 1878. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 47 (2011) 218 – 240, esp. 225 – 226 and 230 – 231.
85 F. DÖLGER, Deutscher Gelehrtenbesuch im bulgarischen Athoskloster Zographu im Kriegsjahr 1941. *Bulgaria: Jahrbuch 1942 der Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft Berlin*, 392 – 396; see MÜLLER, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 353 – 354.
86 DÖLGER, Deutscher Gelehrtenbesuch 394: "Das Gespräch, das auf Neugriechisch geführt wird, dreht sich um den Krieg, um die von den Mönchen aufs höchste bewunderten Waffentaten der deutschen Wehrmacht, um den schlagartig fortschreitenden Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus, der eben gerade einen Monat im Gange ist".
87 Ibid. 395; see also Tagebuchaufzeichnungen (as footnote 70 above) 75 along with MÜLLER, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 351 – 352 on such demands for pictures of Hitler.

2.3. Mönchsland Athos

Around May 1943, *Mönchsland Athos* was published as the first of two books that resulted from the German expedition to the Holy Mountain.[88] Dölger had stated in the 1941 preface to his "Tragos" paper that the volume had been conceived as an album to be published by the Amt Rosenberg, and he expanded this brief reference in his 1942 report to the BAW. The volume bears a subtitle (*The Results of the Athos Expedition of Reich Leader Rosenberg*) and appears as having been written by Dölger, Edmund Weigand[89] and Anton Deindl under the editorial responsibility of Dölger. When the book was actually printed, the subtitle did not appear on the title page. However, an *accompanying greeting* ("Geleitwort") by Gerhard Utikal as director of the ERR was printed immediately after the title page,[90] wherein it is unambiguously declared that a *scholarly expedition* ("wissenschaftliche Expedition") was undertaken in the summer of 1941 by the Sonderkommando Griechenland of ERR, and that the publication of the volume was made possible through the support of Franz Xaver Schwarz, *Reich Treasurer* ("Reichsschatzmeister") of the NSDAP.[91] This latter fact partly explains why

88 Mönchsland Athos, mit Beiträgen von Professor Dr. F. DÖLGER, München und Professor Dr. E. WEIGAND, Prag und Reichshauptstellenleiter A. DEINDL, Berlin. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. F. DÖLGER, München. Mit 183 Abbildungen und 1 Karte. München 1943. The pictures are actually 184, therefore the number on the title page must be a typographical error. On the publication date see BArch NS 15/639, f. 16 (letter of Stabseinsatzführer Dr. Zeiß to Deindl, dated 09 – 04 – 1943) on the imminent publication of the book; by early June the book had appeared (see below p. 736 – 737). Dölger sent a copy of the album to the Holy Community of Mount Athos and its Protos in October 1943, for which he received a letter of thanks, dated Karyes, 10 – 12 – 1943; the Greek original has not survived, but BArch NS 15/639, f. 18 is a German translation made by Dölger himself.

89 Edmund Weigand (1887 – 1950) had studied Classical Philology, Byzantine Studies and Art History in Würzburg and Munich. He taught since 1910 in Würzburg, became 1938 an "außerplanmäßiger" professor of History of Byzantine Art in Munich, was appointed full professor at the German University of Prag in 1941, and upon Dölger's proposal was named corresponding member of the BAW in 1942. He was removed from his position after the war as a collaborator of the Nazi regime and returned to Munich where he taught at the Maximiliansgymnasium, when in 1949 he returned to the university, again as an "außerplanmäßiger" professor, leaving behind him this *painful interval* ("schmerzliche Zwischenpause"), as Dölger describes it in the obituary for his old Munich friend; see F. DÖLGER, Edmund Weigand. *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1951, 263 – 266.

90 Mönchsland Athos (as footnote 88 above) 5.

91 Franz Xaver Schwarz (1875 – 1947) was one of Hitler's closest collaborators. After a long career in Munich's municipal administration (1900 – 1923), he was suspended from his office because of his participation in Hitler's coup. He became a founding member of the new NSDAP

the volume, despite the war, was such an unusually luxurious publication: hard-bound, large octavo format, glossy paper, and 184 mostly large-sized black-and-white photographs.

That the highest level of NSDAP administration supported the publication of the book can be directly related to Dölger's Munich connections, two of which are immediately apparent in the person of Reichsschatzmeister Schwarz and in the publishing house in which the book appeared, namely Verlag F. Bruckmann. The company was initially established by Friedrich Bruckmann (1814–1898) in 1858 in Frankfurt, but in 1863 it was moved to Munich. After Bruckman's death, it was directed by two of his three sons, Alphons (1855–1945) and Hugo (1863–1941). In particular, Hugo Bruckmann and his wife Elsa (1865–1946), were staunch supporters of Hitler since his early days, when he was introduced by Elsa to her literary salon, one of the city's most important social venues.[92] It was Hugo Bruckmann who decided to publish in 1899 the racist and antisemitic book of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927) on *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a work of major importance for the development of Nazi ideology.[93]

(membership no. 6) and was appointed by Hitler treasurer of the party, retaining this office for twenty years (1925–1945).

92 The Bruckmanns became members of the party in 1932 with a retroactive enrollment of 1 April 1925 and the honorary membership nos. 91 and 92; Hugo, moreover, was since 1932 and until his death NSDAP member of the Reichstag. For concise biographies see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo_Bruckmann and https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elsa_Bruckmann with good bibliographies (accessed 08–02–2018). For the publishing house see the brief entry https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bruckmann_Verlag (accessed 08–02–2018); unfortunately, the publishing house removed from its site a whole chapter on its history during the Nazi era (http://www.150-jahre-bruckmann.de/special4_dunkleZeit.html) which I had accessed on 29–04–2012. One point of importance is that the publishing house was temporarily closed in 1945 and denazified. It resumed its publishing activities in 1946 as Münchner Verlag und Graphische Kunstanstalten, until it resumed its current name as Bruckmann Verlag in 1951.

93 H. S. Chamberlain, Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. München 1899 (1032 pages in two volumes). Subsequent to the success of this work, Bruckmann published all of Chamberlain's books. The British born Chamberlain moved to Dresden in 1884, established a strong and lasting relationship with the Wagner-Clan in Bayreuth (he married Cosima Wagner's grand-daughter in 1905) and fully espoused a German identity. His "study" inspired a Nazi continuation and expansion by no less than A. Rosenberg, Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit. München 1930 (almost 700 pages), after Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the second-highest printed book in Nazi Germany with 1.075.000 copies up to 1945. On Chamberlain see G. F. Field, Evangelist of race: the Germanic vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain. New York 1981 and U. Bermbach, Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Wagner's Schwiegersohn – Hitlers Vordenker. Stuttgart/Weimar 2015, in which the author presents a balanced and painstackingly documented biography along with a detailed

The process that led to the publication of the *Mönchsland Athos* is quite revealing about how the personal power games where acted out between the parties involved, but also about the way that the high administration of the ERR viewed this particular book. As the typesetting of the volume was under way, Dr. Brethauer of the ERR *headquarter directorate* ("Stabsführung") asked Dölger to prepare a proposal about the publication of the scholarly results from the Athos expedition, which he did.[94] Not having heard from the ERR, Dölger addressed a formal letter wherein he presented his case more forcefully, even suggesting that if everything else failed, he should be permitted to publish his findings on his own, even though unwillingly since, as he puts it, *it matters to me also, that the results of this expedition should be presented to the public under the banner of the Taskforce* ("da auch mir daran liegt, daß die Ergebnisse dieser Expedition unter dem Titel des Einsatzstabes an die Öffentlichkeit kommen").[95] Brethauer reacted upon this and, in communication with Deindl, had the publication of the scientific book approved, while also giving specific instructions on how the introductory material of the *Mönchland Athos* should be set up.[96] The volume would open with a "Geleitwort" by Rosenberg, a preface by Utikal and then the introduction by Dölger. Deindl supported the publication in two documents addressed to the Reichleiter personally, wherein he also expressed the opinion that the "Athos Urkundenbuch" should for reasons of prestige be also published by the ERR.[97] However, something happened that led to a change of the title page and the prefatory material of the *Mönchland Athos*. As an apologetic letter of Dölger to Deindl reveals,[98] it was the publishing house that had changed the title page putting Dölger up front as sole person responsible for

political analysis of Chamberlain's major works and his reception by the Nazi ideologues, such as Rosenberg.

94 See the copy of this proposal in BArch NS 15/639, f. 24 – 24a (dated 03 – 04 – 1942). Karl Brethauer (1906 – 1992), with a PhD in Medieval German literature from Göttingen University, was since 1930 a member of the SA and the NSDAP. He was appointed to the ERR in 1941 and was one the three Stabsführer of the agency. He was chiefly responsible for the "safekeeping" of Jewish libraries in France and in the Netherlands. Despite a period of imprisonment in France (1947 – 1949), he was not called to the trial of his other colleagues. Since 1951 he returned to civil service as a *senior teacher* ("Oberstudienrat") in a famous Gymnasium in Hannoversch Münden.

95 See the copy of this letter in BArch NS 15/639, f. 23 – 23a (dated 12 – 05 – 1942).

96 BArch NS 15/639, f. 37 – 37a (dated 22 – 05 – 1942), BArch NS 15/639, f. 137 (dated 26 – 06 – 1942) and BArch NS 15/639, f. 36 – 36a (dated 07 – 08 – 1942).

97 BArch NS 15/639, f. 34 (dated 10 – 08 – 1942) and BArch NS 15/639, f. 13 (dated 09 – 09 – 1942). The "reasons of prestige" are, of course, the propaganda value of the book for the excellence of German scholarship.

98 BArch NS 15/639 (dated 12 – 09 – 1942), 21 – 21a.

the whole book. As a compromise, he suggested the title as it was finally printed, though he assured Deindl that he would agree on any change that the latter would propose. Obviously, as the war on the various fronts was taking a difficult turn and as the Sonderkommando Griechenland of the ERR had fulfilled its purpose and had been closed in late 1941, the directorate of the ERR was not anymore "passionately" interested in the Athos Expedition and its products. The fact that the title page of the book was printed in a form different from the one proposed initially by Brethauer, evidences, on the one hand, the loss of the book's high propagandistic value. On the other hand, Dölger's connections to important Munich people in the NSDAP were strong enough to allow the title page to be printed as he had suggested.

No document is preserved attesting an immediate response to Dölger by Deindl in September 1942, maybe because he did not think that the ERR directorate would agree to such a change. However, just after the book was published, Deindl did react because, after all, he was the only Berlin official of the ERR to actually participate in the expedition, but most probably also the person behind the initial idea of sending such an expedition to Athos in order to study eastern monasticism and the particularities of the Greek Orthodox Church, given that Deindl was responsible for religious affairs at ERR. As becomes obvious from a confidential document Deindl sent to some of his "Parteigenossen" (dated 08 – 06 – 1943),[99] he had insisted that the book be published under the name of Reichsleiter Rosenberg as a product of the NSDAP and with Deindl's name as chief officer of the ERR placed first before that of Dölger. Deindl suggested that Dölger was keeping his distance from the nationalist-socialist perspective of the ERR and that he was solely interested in pursuing his own goal, in other words, the study of Byzantine documents and manuscripts. This observation of Deindl is certainly correct from his perspective of the expedition, its aims and his own ambitions, given that he openly criticized the directorate of the ERR for "an almost terrifying lack of political instinct" in not seeing where the interests of Reichsleiter Rosenberg lay.[100] However, as we have seen, Dölger had publicly played his cards in order to show that the expedition was an NSDAP project and that he was very much part of it.

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99 BArch NS 15/639, f. 5 – 6; for a detailed analysis see MÜLLER, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 344 – 347.

100 "So möchte ich hiermit in aller Form festgestellt haben, daß die Interessen des Reichsleiters auf diesem Sektor vom Einsatzstab nicht wahrgenommen worden sind und daß alle Bemühungen meinerseits an einer geradezu erschreckenden politischen Instinktlosigkeit abprallten" (ibid. f. 6).

Except for the recent remarks by Müller,[101] the *Mönchsland Athos* has not been examined more carefully as to its contents by Byzantinists. In the editor's preface, Dölger makes quite clear that each of the three authors had responsibility for writing their own contributions (a chapter each and the respective captions to the plates) as well as for choosing the photographs for their own sections; yet the arrangement of the photographs and the editorial work on the whole volume was the editor's responsibility.[102] Thus, the reader knows who wrote what in the volume, though, on account of the fact that these attributions appear nowhere else in the book, the volume gives the impression of being a wholy compact product of authorial collaboration. On the one hand, being a popularizing book, the three chapters of the introduction offer very generalizing statements about the history, art and religious tradition of Athos.[103] However, the photographs of the Athos landscape, architecture and monastic everyday life are precious documents for the history of the Holy Mountain in the middle of the twentieth century. A substantial part of the photographs concerns "objects of art" (mosaics, frescoes, icons, liturgical objects) and manuscript illuminations, the former taken by Kress, the latter by Treitinger.[104] Since much space in the book is alloted to manuscripts and documents as "historical monuments",[105] one absence comes as a surprise. There is no reference, let alone a photograph, in the whole volume of even one manuscript of Byzantine literature, of which the libraries of Athonite monasteries have masses to offer, most conspicuously, the illuminated eleventh-century Iviron codex of the *Edifying Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph*,[106] even though Dölger mentions the text in the caption to two photo-

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101 Müller, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 354 – 356.
102 Mönchsland Athos 13.
103 "Landschaft und Geschichte des Athos" by Dölger (Mönchsland Athos 14 – 21), "Die Kunst auf dem Athos" by Weigand (22 – 28) and "Der Athos als religionsgeschichtliche Erscheinung" by Deindl (29 – 35).
104 Mönchsland Athos 108 – 215 (pls. 59 – 130); the captions have been written by Weigand who represents the most conventional approach to Byzantine art and architecture before the war, "ein polares Gegenbild zu revolutionären Stürmern wie J. Strzygowski, mit dem er so oft die Klingen kreuzte", as noted by Dölger, Weigand (as footnote 89 above) 264.
105 Besides the photographs of the illuminated manuscripts, see Mönchsland Athos 94 – 107 (pls. 49 – 58), where under the heading "Die geschichtlichen Denkmäler", Dölger has made a selection of documents from the "Tragos" to a forgery of the 18th century, or 216 – 219 (pls. 131 – 133), where under the heading "Geschichtlich bedeutsame Handschriften", two manuscripts (one Greek from the 6th c.) and one Bulgarian (from the 18th c.) are presented.
106 Cod. Iviron 463, on which see R. Volk, Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria). *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 6/1 = *Patristische Texte und Studien*, 61. Berlin/New York 2009, 269 – 272 with full bibliography. On the illustration of the *Barlaam* see now M.

graphs of the monastery,[107] and with which text he would involve himself intensively a few years later.[108]

Among the photographic highlights of the book – all taken by Treitinger – are three photographs of Dölger together with other members of the expedition in an Athonite setting,[109] two photographs of Deindl talking with learned monks,[110] Dölger's official "Athos passport" as head of the expedition,[111] and, finally, a photograph of a charcoal portrait of Adolf Hitler hanging in the reception room of Kastamonitou Monastery.[112]

Dölger's preface to *Mönchsland Athos* opens with a brief history of research visits to the Holy Mountain since the times of Vasilij Grigorovich Barskij in the first half of the eighteenth century.[113] Dölger makes here a factual reference to the French expedition of 1918/19. He then states that "of the German expeditions reference should be made in this context to the two voyages of F. Dölger (1928

Toumpouri, Barlaam and Ioasaph, in V. Tsamakda (ed.), A companion to Byzantine illustrated manuscripts. *Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World*, 2. Leiden/Boston 2017, 149 – 168.

107 Mönchsland Athos 50.

108 See footnote 50 above, but also below footnote 183.

109 Pls. 179 ("Gaffendes Volk im Hafen Dafni"), 181 ("Begrüßung"), 182 ("Archivarbeit"). Should I not be mistaken pl. 172 ("Marktplatz") in capturing the market place of Karyes, shows in fact the German expedition with some of its members and the two mules carrying some of the baggage. At the extreme right stands Dölger with the same hat and suit he wears on pl. 179. These "ethnographic" photographs have been discussed by Della Dora, Imagining Mount Athos (as footnote 53 above) 191 – 192.

110 Pls. 143 ("Gebildete Mönche") and 183 ("Religionsgespräch").

111 Pl. 180, to which a whole caption is dedicated explaining how such a "passport" is issued and what it contains, in this case the explicit wish of the Overseers that the Holy Community grant hospitality to the German scientific expedition and to allow the "distinguished and wise professor of Byzantine History at the University of Munich" (διαπρεπὴς καὶ σοφὸς Καθηγητὴς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἱστορίας ἐν τῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ τοῦ Μονάχου) to work in the archives and libraries of the monasteries, and to allow the technicians to photograph freely under his guidance everything he wishes (ἐπιτρέψωσιν εἰς τὸν κ. Ντέλγκερ νὰ ἐργάζεται ὁ ἴδιος εἰς τὰ Ἀρχεῖα καὶ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας καὶ νὰ φωτογραφήσωσιν οἱ τεχνικοὶ ὁδηγίᾳ Αὐτοῦ ἐλευθέρως πᾶν ὅ,τι ἐπιθυμεῖ Οὗτος). The text explicitly mentions the reference given to Dölger by the commander of the German Army in Thessaloniki (συνιστώμενος ἡμῖν θερμῶς ὑπὸ [...] τοῦ κ. Διευθυντοῦ τῶν ἐν Θεσ/νίκῃ Γερμανικῶν στρατευμάτων); see Müller, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 348 – 349. This reference letter of 29 – 06 – 1941, signed by the Generalleutnant Johann Haarde (1889 – 1945) and accompanied by a Greek translation, is actually preserved; see Tsamis, Ἅγιον Ὄρος (as footnote 5 above 3) 48 – 49 who quotes the Greek translation in full.

112 Pl. 184 ("Das Führerbild im Empfangsraum"). The caption to this plate reflects most clearly the nationalist-socialist agenda of Deindl and the ERR.

113 See now V. Della Dora, Light and sight: Vasilij Grigorovich Barskij, Mount Athos and the geographies of eighteenth-century Russian Orthodox Enlightenment. *Journal of Historical Geography* 53 (2016) 86 – 103 with substantial bibliography.

and 1930), that were undertaken under the commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and served the preparation of a complete edition of all Greek documents of the Middle Ages".[114] The two important expeditions of Paul Marc in 1906 and 1913 – in other words, before the French expedition – that established the photographic archive of the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden* and that were also commisioned by the BAW, are passed over in silence,[115] one obvious example of how Dölger staged himself as the single and exclusive authority of Byzantine diplomatics in German scholarship. The *raison d'être* of the expedition is presented here with a slightly different colouring than in the previous publications:[116]

> Es ist das Verdienst des Einsatzstabes des Reichleiters Rosenberg, im Frühjahr 1941 den Vorteil erkannt zu haben, welche die Besetzung Griechenlands durch deutsche Truppen für einen neuerlichen erfolgreichen Besuch des Athos durch deutsche Gelehrte bot; waren doch jetzt zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten, welche bisher dem Besuch des Heiligen Berges entgegenzustehen pflegten, ausgeschaltet und bestand die Aussicht, das herkömmliche Mißtrauen der Mönche bei friedensmäßiger Durchführung der Expedition zu überwinden. Unsere Erwartungen in dieser Hinsicht wurden nicht entäuscht: wir wurden sowohl von der Jera Kinótis und ihrem überaus verständigen Protepistátis wie auch von allen Klöstern mit größter Freundlichkeit empfangen und mit herzlicher Gastfreundschaft bewirtet; wir begegneten überall aufrichtiger Bewunderung für die deutsche Leistung in Krieg und Frieden und wurden in mehr als einem Kloster durch die deutsche Fahne heimatlich gegrüßt.

The passage emphasizes the initiative of the ERR in planning the expedition, but it omits the fact that the original plan was to look into Modern Greek Orthodox religious and ecclesiastical affairs and not into Byzantine documents. Still, the brief passage includes the motif of "monastic difficulties", as well as the ubiquitous reference to the friendliness and hospitality of the monastic community. Special mention is made to the *sincere admiration* ("aufrichtige Bewunderung") for the German achievements in war and peace, crowned by the comment that in more than one monastery the visitors were greeted by the German flag in a manner reminding the travelers of home. The flag, of course, was the *swastika flag* ("Hakenkreuzfahne") of the Third Reich, as is described in the caption written

114 Mönchsland Athos 11: "Von den Deutschen Expeditionen darf in diesem Zusammenhang auf die beiden Fahrten von *F. Dölger* (1928 und 1930) hingewiesen werden, welche im Auftrag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unternommen wurden und der Vorbereitung einer zusammenfassenden Ausgabe aller griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters dienten" (spacing and italics in the orginal).

115 The only indication that something existed before Dölger is hidden in the partitive genetive "Von den Deutschen Expeditionen".

116 Mönchsland Athos 11.

by Dölger that accompanies a wonderful photograph of the Serbian Hilandar monastery taken by Treitinger.[117] However, the young and talented Otto Treitinger sadly perished at the Eastern Front after his enlisting in the summer of 1943.[118]

2.4. The scandal and Dölger's attitude

As becomes clear from Dölger's "Personalakte" in the BAW, he was dismissed from and reinstated in his posts first in January and in April 1946, and then in June 1946 and in February 1948. The reason for the second dismissal was that the Military Government had looked more carefully into the Athos book and realized that this publication and the expedition behind it revealed highest Nazi connections. Already in the Questionaire of the Military Government (dated 2 February 1946), Dölger had made every effort to distance himself from Nazi connections as to the Athos Expedition. Thus, he presented the expedition as something that he himself had planned and for which he received the leave from military service and the partial financial support of the Amt Rosenberg.[119] It took a concerted effort of the Academy lasting almost a year to convince the

117 Ibidem 70: "An der Pforte des serbischen idiorrhythmischen Klosters Chilandár erwartet uns eine Überraschung: die Väter haben dort die Hakenkreuzfahne gehißt". This is already described in Dölger's diary; see Tagebuchaufzeichnungen (as footnote 70 above) 73: "Ritt nach dem Serbenkloster Chilandar (3/4 Stunden) auf schönem Weg. Dort weht die Hakenkreuzfahne vom Turm über die Pforte".

118 Dölger makes a brief mention about Treitinger's sad fate as missing soldier in *BZ* 50 (1950) 508. Beyond that I have not been able to find any further biographical mention about this talented young historian.

119 In the list of travels outside Germany during the Nazi regime (Questionnaire, Appendix I, 1) Dölger writes under nr. 16 the following about the Athos Expedition: "Griechenland IV/VII '41 – Militärische Kommandierung als Sprach- und Landeskundiger (Dolmetscher) (s. unter D). Nach Ablösung durch ansässige Dolmetscher im Juni 41 Urlaub zur Vorbereitung einer wiss. Expedition auf den Athos, im Juli Durchführung der Expedition zur Vervollständigung des Lichtbildarchivs des Corpus d. griech. Urkunden (s. unter I 1) unter Fortdauer des Militärverhältnisses, aber im Urlaub und in Zivil; anschliessend beurlaubt nach München. Da der Einsatzstab Rosenberg für Griechenland die religiösen Einrichtungen des Athos zu studieren wünschte, wurde ein theologiekundiger Angehöriger des Stabes (A. Deindl) beigegeben und infolgedessen die Expedition vorwiegend durch diesen Stab finanziert (vgl. Veröff. Anm. 122). Die Expedition hatte rein wissenschaftlichen Charakter, wie durch die im Manuskript vorliegenden Ergebnisse gezeigt werden kann". As has been shown so far, the presentation here is inexact and to a certain extent misleading, given that all of the expedition was financed by the German Army in Greece under the command of the Sonderkommando Griechenland of the ERR, while *Mönchsland Athos* was finaced by the NSDAP. Also, the role of Deindl was quite different from what Dölger writes five years later.

prosecuting district attorney, the special court for denazification and the Ministry of Education that Dölger had only a scholarly involvement in the expedition. In this sense, Martin Hose's comment that Dölger, though he had made "a deal with the devil" and had let himself become a "propagandist of the regime", did never perceive this as a problem, is only partially correct.[120] As was the case with many German intellectuals, especially university professors, who belonged to the political right, they earnestly believed that they could use the Nazi regime for their own scholarly or political purposes. When the regime collapsed and the immense crimes committed were made apparent, these academics were either unwilling or incapable to understand the extent of their own, very particular, involvement, choosing to go over this "embarassment" in silence or negation.[121] This was also Dölger's attitude. Up to 1945, when he was preparing his various publications within the network of his Nazi connections, he was "in tune" with the rhetoric of the regime because of his own right-wing and militarist beliefs as they had been formed in his youth during the Second Reich. After 1945 and in the wake of his own removal from his positions at the University and the Academy, he appeared not to understand why he had been treated in this way by the Military Government and the new German authorities.[122] We can see the development of this attitude in the case of two related documents.

On 6 January 1947, Dölger addressed a memorandum to the presidency of the BAW as part of the dossier he submitted in order to support his petition to be reinstalled as a member of the Academy (plates 1–2).[123] As the heading at the very beginning of the document makes clear, the text is a translation into English, obviously made by Dölger himself as the awkward vocabulary and syntax shows. Therein Dölger made the following statement (§2):

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120 Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 319.

121 For this "Faustian" attitude see H. Münkler, Die Deutschen und ihre Mythen. Hamburg 2010, 129–134 (with substantial bibliography) touching upon such intellectuals as the jurist Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), the architect Albert Speer (1905–1981) and the Germanist Hans Schwerte (1909–1999). For a broader overview on scholars and scientists during the Nazi regime see M. Grüttner, Research and scholarship, in Baranowski/Nolzen/Szejnmann, Companion (as footnote 49 above) 199–214 (with substantial bibliography, primarily for the sciences rather than the humanities) and the references above in footnote 54.

122 See also his remarks of 1953 in the preface to his book on John of Damascus as author of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* quoted by Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 319.

123 "Request of Dr. Franz Dölger concerning his reappointment as a perpetual member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences" (Doc. no. 3139).

> I may think this solution possible [i.e. to be reappointed only as a member of the Academy and not as professor at the University], since I was neither a member of NSDAP nor a militarist nor a propagandist nor a usufructuary in any form and since, according to the rules of the liberation-law, I primarily do not fall under the law. As the decan of the University told me my dissmissal is caused by the edition of the book "Mönchsland Athos", München 1943. I only did edit this book, and I am not responsible for the two pages giving offence [i.e. the photograph of Hitler's portrait in the reception hall of Kastamonitou Monastery and the accompanying caption], as I expressly stated on p. 13 of the book, foreseeing what was to come. Concerning all other circumstances, especially the going-by association with the "Einsatzstab Rosenberg", I am able to explain them in a completely satisfactory manner, and to support the details by affidavits. I remark especially that I possess a confirmation from the part of the exarch of the ecumenic patriarchate of Constantinople for Central and Western Europe (London), Metropolite Germanos of Thyateira, declaring that he is acquainted with reviews of the book from England and Greece, reviews which applaud the book with vivacity and which are by no means offended. I am able to prove that this opinion on the book is also shared by the highest ecclesiastical office, the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

With the hindshight of the available material, Dölger's statement here that he only edited the book by refering to his declaration in its preface – "foreseeing what was to come" – can only be read as self-delusion, given that the volume does not "give offence" only because of its last two pages, but because of its whole production. The only "confirmation" that is to be found in Dölger's dossier about his "going-by association" (a very peculiar phrase in English) with the ERR is a *statement* ("Erklärung") in German by Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira (i.e. Great Britain),[124] dated 09–12–1946 (plates 3–4).[125] The relevant passage reads:

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124 Germanos (secular name Georgios) Strinopoulos (1872–1951) was a prominent ecclesiastic of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, with a doctoral degree in philosophy from the University of Leipzig (see G.P. Strinopulos, Hippolyt's philosophische Anschauungen. Leipzig 1903). He was rector of the Chalki Theological School from 1907 until 1922, and titulary bishop of Seleuceia since 1912. In March 1922 he was appointed metropolitan of Thyateira in London, an office he held until his death.

125 The document displays certain technical peculiarities: (i) the titles of the archbishop in the letter head are in English; (ii) an English address with telephone number is given, but on account of the indication "z.Zt. Berlin, den 9. Dezember 1946)", the impression is given that Germanos has written this statement in Berlin; (iii) at the end of the text there is an indication that the copy has been certified by some clerk at the BAW ("Für die Richtigkeit der Abschrift / München, den 9. Jan. 1947, <unreadable signature>, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften"); (iv) there is no signature of Germanos, but only the indication "gez.: Germanos / Erzbischof von Thyateira, Exarch von West- und Zentral-Europa"), while the German formulation there is not identical with the English version of the signatory's titles in the letter head.

> Es wäre möglich, daß Professor Dölger seine Tätigkeit in Griechenland im Jahre 1941, seine damalige vorübergehende Verbindung mit dem “Einsatzstab Rosenberg” und das damit zusammenhängende Buch “Mönchsland Athos” zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde. Ich kenne Besprechungen des Buches aus Griechenland und England, welche das Buch lebhaft begrüßt haben und keinerlei Anstoß an ihm nahmen. Nach meiner Kenntnis ist es ausgeschlossen, daß Professor Dölger während seines Aufenthaltes in Griechenland im Jahre 1941 irgendetwas getan hat, was einen einzelnen Griechen, dem griechischen Staate oder der griechischen Kirche Schaden gebracht hätte”.

A series of questions arises concerning this document. If it was originally written in German, the archishop would have signed it and there would have not been any need for an authentication by the BAW. If the statement had been written in English, the signed original could have been directly appended to the petition since it was addressed to the American officials of the Military Government. If the statement was written in Greek, then the signed original should have been appended to the petition along with its German translation, as was the case with other non-German documents in Dölger’s dossier.[126] The fact that instead of a signature we find the indication “gez.” (i.e. “gezeichnet”) on the second page, makes the document look like a translation, as is the case with Dölger’s memorandum of 6 January 1947. The further fact that no original is preserved for this important “confirmation” casts a serious doubt on the full authenticity of the document. Beyond that, however, the German statement of Germanos is written on the same typewriter and the same paper as a German letter of Dölger to the President of the BAW, dated 25 – 12 – 1946 (plates 5 – 6);[127] this is a clear indication that Dölger composed and typed both of these documents. Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that the awkward phrase “going-by association” in Dölger’s memorandum (06 – 01 – 1947) is a word-by-word rendering of the stylish phrase “vorübergehende Verbindung” in Germanos’ statement (09 – 12 – 1946). Needless to say, there exists no single review of *Mönchsland Athos* published anywhere. That Dölger’s connections to the ERR were not as “coincidental” or “cursory” as he tried to present them, is further evidenced from a memorandum issued by the ERR headquarters, dated 28 – 05 – 1943 and preserved in the Cen-

126 Thus, the letter (written in Greek) of the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Thessaloniki, Prof. Agapitos Tsopanakis, announcing to Dölger the award of an honorary doctorate in 1959, is attached to a translation of the text in German as submitted to the BAW for reference.

127 Dölger Personalakt no. 3105. This document, being undisputably an original, has been signed by Dölger, while it has the seal of the BAW confirming its receipt on 30 December 1946.

tral Ukrainian Archives. The memorandum documents that, upon the request of Dölger, specific Byzantinist publications were to be searched for in libraries of the occupied Ukrainian territories and sent to Munich for the library of the Seminar.[128]

Already in the preface to the "Tragos" paper, Dölger stated that "following this [i.e. the popularizing photographic volume], the author will account in a richly illustrated report for the rich scientific results of the journey – tangible already now or to be expected in the future". In the introduction to the 1943 book the readers were further informed that "the scientific evaluation of the newly discovered documentary material will follow in an especially detailed report of the Taskforce Rosenberg prepared by F. Dölger".[129] This "report" is none other than the famous two-volume study of selected documents from the archives of seventeen Athos monasteries, that appeared in late 1948.[130] The work was published by the Münchner Verlag, i.e. Verlag F. Bruckmann after its denazification in 1946 (see footnote 92 above).[131] The first volume opens with a greeting ("Zum Geleit"), dated May 1948, by Albert Rehm (1871–1949), then head of the Kommission for the edition of the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*. Obviously, no mention is made therein of the ERR framework of the expedition, on the contrary, the impression is given that the expedition and the published work always stood under the aegis of the BAW. Dölger's introduction is divided into two parts. The first part presents the volume, the method of its organization and of the edition of the documents.[132] It also includes an expanded version of the "monastic

128 See W. Brandes, Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Kritik eines vermeintlichen Erkenntnismodells. *Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013) 262–284, esp. 275–278 for a discussion of the document and an image of the original.

129 Mönchsland Athos 12: "Die *fachwissenschaftliche* Auswertung des neugewonnenen Urkundenmaterials wird in einem besonderen ausführlichen Bericht des Einsatzstabes Rosenberg durch *F. Dölger* erfolgen" (italics in the original).

130 Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges. 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten, ed. F. Dölger. München 1948.

131 This information appears on the title pages and the copyright pages of both volumes, as well as in Dölger's preface (Schatzkammern 11), but the connection to the Nazi background of Bruckmann Verlag has remained unnoticed; see Hose, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 395 footnote 32 and Müller, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 343 footnote 27. As Dölger notes, the 128 photographic plates had been prepared and printed by the Firma Schreiber in Stuttgart (see also the copyright page of the plate volume), but it had not been possible to print the text volume before the end of the war. Thus, the Münchner Verlag commissioned another old and famous printer to take over the setting of an extremely complex manuscript, J. J. Augustin in Glückstadt, near Hamburg. For those interested in the history of printing, this company printed and distributed all publications of Dumbarton Oaks Center between 1959 and 1981.

132 Schatzkammern 7–11.

difficulties" motif. Thanks are given to three of the five members of the expedition (Kress, Siotis, Treitinger). The second and much shorter part is Dölger's actual preface of February 1948, for as he states, the first part was written in January 1945. Since in this first part no reference is made to the Amt Rosenberg or to Deindl, while the expedition appears exclusively as a *journey* ("Reise"), the question arises if this text is the original version. The fact, however, that in January 1945 the Nazi regime was in place, even if Germany was loosing the war, suggests that the text (like the preface to the "Tragos" paper of 1941) was "denazified" at a later stage.

The process of academic and scholarly whitewashing, that took place after Dölger's return to his posts at the University of Munich and the Bavarian Academy, was conducted quite successfully. One such example is found in the preface that Johannes Maria Hoeck wrote in the Dölger Festschrift of 1951, where he obliquely but unmistakably refers to the 1946 scandal:[133]

> Zwar ist es auch ihm nicht erspart worden, verkannt und angefeindet zu werden, namentlich in den Wirren der Nachkriegszeit, sei es aus Unkenntnis oder auch aus Neid. Aber gerade diese bitteren Erfahrungen haben seinen lauteren Charakter erst recht an den Tag gestellt, so daß man jenen niedrigen und erbärmlichen Versuchen keinen besseren Dienst erweisen kann als sie vornehm zu ignorieren.

It is certainly improper to criticize the recipient of a Festschrift. However, to defend him by presenting the post-war scandal and the reaction to it as *base and wretched attempts* ("jenen niedrigen und erbärmlichen Versuchen") that led to a misunderstanding of and enmity against the dedicatee *out of ignorance or even envy* ("sei es aus Unkenntnis oder auch aus Neid") runs contrary to the documentation of the Athos Expedition. But, then, this Festschrift was produced in the very context that hosted Dölger during his *voluntary time of leisure* ("freiwillige Mußezeit") of 1946 – 1948.[134] Gradually, the whole affair became the result of a silly misunderstanding with no actual grounding in Dölger's conduct.[135] Thus,

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133 Hoeck, Festschrift Franz Dölger (as footnote 28 above) VIII.
134 Ibid. VII, in the presentation of Dölger's work on the *Barlaam* at the Scheyern Abbey.
135 See, for example, the remark made by H.-G. Beck, Das Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität München, in Χάλικες (as footnote 15 above) 200: "Dazu kam, daß eine Marotte der Besatzungsmacht das Institut seines Vorstandes beraubte und damit den Betrieb auf ein Minimum beschränkte". To characterize the investigation of the Military Government as a *quirck* ("Marotte") is a substantial misrepresentation but, then, this publication was also of a laudatory character, as it celebrated the achievements of the Munich Institute and of its director at the time of the 11th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Munich.

twenty-three years after the scandal, the expedition was presented by no less than Herbert Hunger in his 1969 obituary of Dölger thus:[136]

> Daß Dölger 1941 den Auftrag der damaligen deutschen Regierung ausnützte, um auf dem Heiligen Berg Athos eine möglichst große Zahl guter Photos von byzantinischen Urkunden sämtlicher Großklöster anzufertigen und damit der Byzantinistik ein unschätzbares Arbeitsinstrument in die Hand zu geben, wurde ihm von manchen Kollegen im Ausland angekreidet und noch Jahre nach dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges nachgetragen. Indes hat die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften die von Dölger gesammelten Urkundenphotos in Verwahrung genommen. Schon 1948 konnte der Verewigte sein Meisterwerk „Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges. 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten" der Öffentlichkeit übergeben, das eine selten glückliche Synthese von didaktisch orientiertem Handbuch und groß angelegtem Faksimilewerk darstellt. Allein dieses Werk rechtfertigt mehr als genug jene Expedition von 1941. Im übrigen war der Unterzeichnete 1953 Zeuge der überaus herzlichen Begrüßung des angeblich verhaßten deutschen Professors durch die Mönche mehrerer Athoskloster, die sich an frühere Begegnungen mit Franz Dölger erinnern konnten.

A scholarly product is presented here as a sufficient excuse for an act performed in an area under full military occupation and with the full support of the relevant military authorities under the guidance of a party agency of a dictatorial regime that had declared war on the half of Europe. There were certainly different ways of approaching and appreciating such a project, especially since that project was never finished in its original conception. In the last sentence of the passage, Hunger offers a personal testimony from 1953, that is, when the participants to the Ninth International Byzantinist Congress in Thessaloniki were taken for a visit to Mount Athos. But, Dölger had never stated that he had any difficulties with the members of the monastic communities on a personal level. On the contrary, the monks already had good memories of him when he arrived there in 1941 from his two previous visits, and they retained these good memories many years after the Second World War. The issue was not the interpersonal relations of Dölger with the monks and dignitaries of Mount Athos, but the specific background infront of which the expedition was conducted. The documentation from the relevant archives and from Dölger's war time publications leaves no doubt that this expedition was not just a "commission by the then German government".

In the first two sections of the present paper, we saw how Franz Dölger established himself as the leading authority in Byzantine diplomatics by using the apparatus of the Nazi regime, while, at the same time, he developed an approach

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136 Hunger, Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 393.

to the study of Byzantine documents creating an abstract and generalizing system of taxonomy that streamlined the totality of such documents into neat and inflexible categories. In the next three sections we will examine how this model fed into his approach to Byzantine literature and how it was influenced by his understanding of Byzantine culture as a whole.

3. "The large shadow of Byzantium"

Dölger concluded his chapter in the introductory section of *Mönchsland Athos* with the following lines:[137]

> Was dem Forscher vielmehr den Besuch des Athos vor allem so reizvoll macht, ist neben der Fülle des neuen, mit Überraschungen geladenen Materials die Tatsache, daß er an dieser einzigen Stelle in der Lage ist, in einer geschlossenen Überschau über vielgestaltige Einzelobjekte der nationalen Kulturen der orthodoxen Völker unmittelbar zur Erkenntnis einer Grundtatsache ihrer geistigen Existenz vorzustoßen: wie der Schatten des gewaltigen Athosgipfels bei sinkender Sonne die ganze Landschaft in seinen Mantel hüllt, so ist es der große Schatten von Byzanz, welcher der gesamten Kultur der orhodoxen Welt ihre strenge Konturen geprägt hat und heute noch prägt, sei es in der Starrheit der in unsicherem Dämmerlichte düsterblickenden Heiligengestalten ihrer Kirchenwände, sei es in dem Glauben an die endliche Wiederkehr des byzantinischen Weltkaisertums, sei es in dem uns unverständlichen Eifer, mit welchem man sich etwa über die Rechtgläubigkeit der Anhänger des gregorianischen Kalenders auseinandersetzt.

This statement is in many respects revealing about how Dölger viewed the Byzantine empire and its culture: a large, dimly lit, presence exercising with its rigid forms a profound influence over the Orthodox peoples. To study this culture was to define these *austere contours* ("strenge Konturen") and present them in a systematic manner.[138] The possibility that the contours were neither so austere nor so strict, or that the specific systematic method was not necessarily the most appropriate, propably never crossed Dölger's mind since the time he wrote his dissertation in 1919. To a certain extent his monumental and static image of Byzantium was a reflection of his own perception of the Germano-Prus-

137 Mönchsland Athos 21. The second part of the passage has been also quoted, but for a different purpose, by MÜLLER, Märcheninsel (as footnote 53 above) 356; the central lines have been translated into English by DELLA DORA, Imagining (as footnote 53 above) 194.
138 Ibid. (as footnote 53 above) 192–193 makes a very good comparison of this image in the *Mönchsland Athos* with Dölger's attempt to explain the image of the Holy Mountain in Fallmerayer's travel diary; see F. DÖLGER, Nachwort, in J. PH. FALLMEREYER, Hagion Oros oder der Heilige Berg Athos. Wien 1949, 127–163.

sian Reich of Wilhelm II before the Great War. This could be one of the reasons why he gladly took up the part-time research position at the BAW in 1920 and insisted unfailingly thereafter to pursue exclusively the edition of the *Kaiserurkunden* and the preparation of the *Kaiserregesten*, rather than of other types of documents, picking up exactly where Paul Marc had left the project of the *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden*.

In his dissertation, Dölger showed a complete lack of sensitivity towards literary texts. Anyone, who will take the trouble to read through the analysis of Meliteniotes' textual sources, will soon recognize that the method Dölger applied was flawed because it turned the text and its supposed hypotexts into snippets of words with no semantic or historical context.[139] But Dölger also showed his lack of a historian's research instinct and way of thinking, something that already Ernst Stein (1891–1945) had noted in his extensive review of Dölger's 1927 study on the history of Byzantine financial administration.[140] It will not be unimportant for the present analysis to quote at length Stein's observation:[141]

> Der größere Umfang von Dölgers Schrift wird vornehmlich dadurch bewirkt, daß sein Buch zugleich versucht, die Zentralstellen der Finanzverwaltung und das Steuerwesen auf dem flachen Lande des byzantinischen Reiches, wie es sich nach den Quellen des X. und XI. Jahrh.s darstellt, in die spätromische Zeit zurück- und bis ans Ende des Reiches weiterzuverfolgen. Ostrogorsky sieht von der spätbyzantinischen Zeit fast völlig ab und befaßt sich auch nicht näher mit der Zentralverwaltung; innerhalb dieser größeren stofflichen Beschränkung aber zeichnet sich seine Doktordissertation durch wahrhaft historischen Blick und durch die Fähigkeit, klar und einfach zu formulieren, aus, während bei Dölger vor allem der eiserne Fleiß zu rühmen ist, mit dem der schon erprobte Bearbeiter der oströmischen Kaiserregesten die griechischen Urkunden eines Jahrtausends zu meistern sucht – ein Fleiß, der freilich nicht darüber hinweghilft, daß Dölger als echter Zögling der Münchener Byzantinistenschule zwar ein vortrefflicher Philolog, aber nicht eigentlich ein Historiker ist. So

139 See, for example, Dölger, Meliteniotes (as footnote 33 above) 29 on the necessity of systematization at the cost of loosing the broader picture; ibid. 57–59 on the use of chronicles and the manner of textual composition with reference to the article by E. Patzig, Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe. *BZ* 3 (1894) 470–497.

140 F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 9. Leipzig/Berlin 1927 was reviewed together with G. Ostrogorsky, Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 20 (1927) 1–108 by E. Stein, Vom Altertum im Mittelalter: Zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 21 (1928/29) 158–170, reprinted in idem, Opera minora selecta. Amsterdam 1968, 436–448, from where the text is quoted.

141 Stein, Opera minora selecta 436. Already Brandes, "Familie der Könige" (as footnote 128 above) 275 pointed to this statement of Stein.

> erklärt sich, daß der reifere Gelehrte in wichtigen Punkten, in denen er und Ostrogorsky verschiedener Meinung sind, dem Dissertanten gegenüber Unrecht hat.

The iron industriousness ("der eiserne Fleiß") in dealing with his material is what Stein saw as Dölger's chief characteristic, though he thought that he did not *really* ("eigentlich") have the flair of a historian, but remained an excellent philologist *being a genuine pupil of the Munich Byzantinist school* ("als echter Zögling der Münchener Byzantinistenschule"). This remark of Stein must have been difficult for Dölger to accept, exactly because, following his appointment as researcher at the BAW, he had decided to stylize himself as a historian. The move into diplomatics was the first step, the second step was the move away from "traditional" philological work as he had produced it in his dissertation. The third step, and while Heisenberg was still alive, was to choose a purely historical topic for his Habilitationsschrift. Besides the 1927 book, Dölger published a historical/economic paper in the Heisenberg Festsschrift,[142] and delivered a historical paper at the Third International Congress of Byzantine Studies (see footnote 35 above). Even in the *Mönchland Athos* his image as a scholar is that of a historian and not of a philologist as the official denomination of his professorial chair was (see footnote 111 above).

This rigorist attitude is clearly expressed in the introduction to the *Schatzkammern* about the choice of and work method on the documents from Mount Athos:[143]

> Dazu ist zu sagen, daß wir in der Auswahl durch die aufgestellten Grundsätze, vor allem durch denjenigen, möglichst viel Unediertes zu bieten, sowie durch den gleichzeitigen Zwang einer gewissen Systematik auf das stärkste eingeengt waren.

One should note here that, on the one hand, a set of *posed principles* had to be upheld, while *the simultaneous constraint of a certain systematization most forcefully restricted* the choices made. The main principle is, of course, external to the documents, namely that they should be unedited, while the systematization reflects the detailed schema created by Dölger so as to put Byzantine public and private documents into a taxonomic order that would make them easy to study and to understand. Such generalizing axioms about taxonomic compartmentalization can be found in Dölger's work since the times of Heisenberg.[144]

142 F. Dölger, Das ἀερικόν. *BZ* 30 (1929/1930) 450–457.

143 Schatzkammern 10–11.

144 A typical case of "einer gewissen Systematik" is the structure of the Heisenberg Festschrift that Dölger edited (see footnote 14 above), since the papers included in the volume are organ-

His attitude can be tangibly experienced in his approach to the typology of Byzantine documents, especially the "Herrscherurkunden". Extremely instructive is his long and longwinded response to two critical reviews of his *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden*, where he refuses to see that the systematization he had set up is basically a construct not supported by the data and an appropriate historical analysis.[145] Thus, the structure of the *Schatzkammern* reflects exactly the constraint of this systematization. Similarly, the organization of the document description also shows this "gewisse Systematik" in an extreme form.[146]

How different Dölger's approach of total systematization was to that of the team preparing the *Archives de l'Athos*, can be seen by a quick comparison of the descriptions and editions of the same documents, for example, a private notary act from Iviron Monastery, dated 22 – 05 – 1008.[147] It is a document of major importance for understanding the use of everyday language in this type of texts since the notary has taken down the actual words of the attestants.[148] The remarks of Dölger on the language of such documents in the volume's general introduction are in full consonance with his thoughts on and beliefs about Byzantine literature in some of his pre-1950 publications (see further p. 761 – 767 below), namely, that the language of these documents proves the existence of an immense gap between a spoken and a written language, and that the spoken language is practically Modern Greek.[149] In particular, Dölger's comments on the

ized according to the bibliographical sections of the journal, thus revealing a completely rigid approach to the discipline and its various fields.

145 F. Dölger, Epikritisches zu den Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden, mit Bemerkungen zur byzantinischen Despotenurkunde. *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 13 (1933) 45 – 68, repr. in idem, Byzantinische Diplomatik (as footnote 36 above) 75 – 101.

146 Schatzkammern 7. Practically the same principles, and in an expanded form, can be found in F. Dölger / J. Karayannopulos. Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.3.1.1. München 1968, 141 – 146; see also ibid. 30, footnote 4 for Dölger's older publications of such "Richtlinien" (1952, 1953).

147 See respectively Schatzkammern 295 – 298 (no. 109) and J. Lefort / N. Oikonomidès / D. Papachryssanthou / H. Metreveli, Actes d'Iviron I. *Archives de l'Athos*, 14. Paris 1985, 186 – 189 (no. 15). Obviously, it should be pointed out here that the choice of the specific Iviron document allows these differences to be made clear yet, at the same time, the readers must be aware that there lie about forty years between the two editions, and that the French project quite often uses Dölger's propositions.

148 For a broader discussion of such private documents from a linguistic and literary point of view see Agapitos, Dangerous literary liaisons (as footnote 1 above) 81 – 93.

149 Schatzkammern 9; see, for example, the questionable explanation of the name form Διαγούπης instead of Ἰαγούπης as a reversal of the Modern Greek phonetic change διὰ > γιά, and this from a document dated to 1421, where this phenomenon is compared to a "similar" phenomenon from a document of 942. At the same time, Dölger viewed Medieval Greek as lacking

language of the 1008 Iviron document show clearly his atemporal and fragmented approach to linguistic analysis as it had been conducted by Georgios Chatzidakis (admired greatly by Dölger[150]) in the late nineteenth century within the perspective of a supposed Byzantine "diglossia".[151]

Dölger's statuary image of Byzantium took on specific contours after the full establishment of the Nazi regime with its particular form of militarism and bureaucratism. These strongly imperialist contours can be gleaned from three of his studies on Byzantine imperial ideology, originally published between 1937 and 1940.[152] It can be also seen in Otto Treitinger's 1938 study on imperial ideol-

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its own characteristics but consisting of a problematic mixture of old and new (*qua* Ancient and Modern Greek) forms.

150 See his paper on "Fifty years of German Byzantine studies" discussed p. 756 – 758 below.

151 On these matters see Agapitos, Dangerous literary liaisons (as footnote 1 above) 71 – 81. In the case of the Iviron document, Dölger presents a list of phonetic changes from the whole document, without taking into consideration that the notary uses his own linguistic idiom in the frame of the text and that this idiom (a kind of stereotypical notary idiolect) is quite different from the "voices" of the attestants, that reflect an actual spoken idiom. This shows a lack of an understanding of language as a historical and socio-cultural phenomenon. One further problem in the study of language as Dölger presented it in the *Schatzkammern* is the fact that his editions, especially of the private documents, are marred by many transcription errors, as can be gleaned from the apparatus of the French edition (Lefort et al. 189).

152 F. Dölger, Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt: Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze. Ettal 1953, 9 – 33 ("Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen"), 34 – 69 ("Die 'Familie der Könige' im Mittelalter"), 70 – 115 ("Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner"). On the famous "family of kings" paper (1940) see now Brandes, Die "Familie der Könige" (as footnote 128 above) 262 – 284, along with G. Prinzing, Byzanz, Altrussland und die sogenannte "Familie der Könige", in M. Thomsen (ed.), Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zum östlichen Europa: Festschrift für Ludwig Steindorff zum 65. Geburtstag. *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa*, 85. Stuttgart 2017, 43 – 56 and idem, Byzantium, Medieval Russia and the so-called "family of kings": From George Ostrogorsky to Franz Dölger's construct and its critics, in A. Alshanskaya / A. Glietzen / C. Hadjiafxendi (eds.), Imagining Byzantium: Perception, patterns, problems. *Byzanz Zwischen Orient und Okzident*, 11. Mainz 2018, 15 – 30, where Prinzing attempts to save some aspects of the model for the period after 900 and especially in the relation of Byzantium to the kingdom of the Rus. As he notes, Dölger was inspired by a shorter study of G. Ostrogorsky, Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie. *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (1936) 41 – 62 (repr. in idem, Zur byzantinischen Geschichte: Ausgwählte kleine Schriften. Darmstadt 1973, 119 – 141). However, Ostrogorsky approaches the question from a different perspective, as Dölger himself acknowledged ("Familie der Könige" 36 footnote 2). During the Nazi regime the tendency of bringing the image of Roman imperial power in correlation to the Third Reich was quite pronounced even if quite ambivalent; see Münkler, Die Deutschen (as footnote 121 above) 197 – 210. One well-known case is Johannes Straub (1912 – 1996), member of the NSDAP since 1937, who defended his dissertation in 1938. It was published as J. A. Straub, Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike. *Forschungen*

ogy as reflected in court ceremony; he had successfully completed it as a doctoral thesis in 1936 under the supervision of Dölger and became thereupon Dölger's assistant in Munich.[153] Special mention should be made of Treitinger's reference in his preface[154] to the theory of the state as a *corpus politicum mysticum* developed by the Spanish Jesuit theologian and philosopher Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). He had become popular in Germany of the Thirties through an influential study by Heinrich Rommen (1897–1967),[155] given that Suárez strongly connected state governance to a natural right of executive power that mystically held the body politic together. Treitinger's study was a very important synthesis of the hierarchic/mystic model of empire, and it dominated the image of Byzantine imperial ceremony in German Byzantine studies until fairly recently.[156] However, Dölger's and Treitinger's model was not the only way of looking at Byzantine imperial ideology and ceremonial in the Thirties and Forties of the twentieth century, as can be seen from the studies by André Grabar (1896–1990) and Louis Bréhier (1868–1951).[157]

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zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 18. Stuttgart 1939 (repr. 1964), where the author quotes from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and a later speech of the Führer.

153 O. Treitinger, Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Jena 1938 (repr. Darmstadt ^{3}1969). The young scholar also wrote a powerful synthesis of his conception of Eastern Roman imperial ideology as a mystical political system; see idem, Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken. *Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropa* 4 (1940) 1–26 (repr. in Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee 249–274).

154 Treitinger, Kaiseridee V.

155 H. A. Rommen, Die Staatslehre des Franz Suarez S.J. Mönchengladbach 1927, esp. 173–177 ("Der naturrechtliche Träger der Staatsgewalt"). Rommen was an important Catholic intellectual and a declared antifascist. He emmigrated to the United States in 1938 to pursue a successful academic career.

156 See, for example, the volume of older studies on imperial ideology edited by H. Hunger, Das byzantinische Herrscherbild. Darmstadt 1975.

157 A. Grabar, L'empereur dans l'art byzantin: Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient. *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 75. Paris 1936 (and to which Treitinger, Kaiseridee XI refers); L. Bréhier, Le monde byzantin. II: Les institutions de l'empire byzantin. *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, 32.2. Paris 1949, especially 1–217 on the emperor and the exercise of power. For a different approach to imperial ceremony and ideology see now G. Dagron, Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium. Translated by J. Birrel. Cambridge 2003, 54–124 (originally published in 1995).

4. The demotion of Byzantine Philology

Thus, order, symmetry, immobility and immutability in time and space were essential aspects of Dölger's static model of the Byzantine Empire. We had the opportunity to see up to this point of the paper, how Dölger advanced his carreer, how he gradually stylized himself as a historian, how he shaped his image of Byzantium through his attachment to the militarist and imperialist ideology of the Wilhelminian Second Reich, how he influenced his students in pushing this image even further within the new context of the Third Reich and, finally, how he used his First-World-War political connections and Munich acquaintances to move closer to certain centers of Nationalist-Socialist power, such as the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, in order to succeed in having an unobstructed access to the libraries and archives of Mount Athos so as to pursue his studies of Byzantine diplomatics.

Dölger, however, placed the presentation of himself as a historian against an image which had to function as an alterity from which he was distancing himself. This image was his interpretation of what Byzantine Philology was or should be. This interpretation was itself based on his view of Krumbacher and Heisenberg as philologists. As we saw above through the comment of Ernst Stein, in German scholarship up to 1930, Byzantine Studies in Munich were a "philological school" of excellence. Neither Krumbacher nor Heisenberg ventured as researchers into the terrain of history, even though they had a good sense of the importance of historical studies for their field. Dölger decided to change this status quo, ultimately leading to a demotion of Byzantine Philology during his tenure as director of the Munich "Mittel- und Neugriechisches Seminar". It is an open question why Dölger decided to do so, and this section of the paper will venture to offer a tentative answer.

Although Dölger was fully aware that Krumbacher was not in any deeper way interested in the "Balkans", in his 1939 festive talk in Belgrade (see p. 729 – 731 above) he characterized the foundation of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* in Munich as a major contribution of "German scholarship" to Balkan Studies. Furthermore, Krumbacher is presented solely in his activity as the passionate supporter of the *dimotiki* in Greece against the *katharevousa*. Dölger then combines this remark with what in his opinion Krumbacher's major contribution to Byzantine Studies was:[158]

158 DÖLGER, Die Leistung (as footnote 73 above) 170.

> Er hat das Lebensrecht der griechischen Volkssprache gegenüber der in Griechenland herrschenden Reinsprache mutig verkündigt und es selbst gegen die schmutzigsten persönlichen Angriffe aus Griechenland selbst verteidigt; wußte doch er, der Bauernsohn aus dem Allgäu, der die Schätze der mittelalterlichen Volkspoesie, der mittelalterlichen Heiligenlegende und des griechischen volkstümlichen Sprichworts vor der Welt ausgebreitet hatte, um die Urkraft der naturgewachsenen Sprache und um ihr unverbrüchliches Lebensrecht auch im Bereiche der Literatur.

Despite the fact that Dölger presented himself in this very paper as the successor to Krumbacher's work ("dessen Werk in Lehre und Forschung fortzusetzen meiner Sorge anvertraut ist"),[159] his reading of Krumbacher is not consonant to the evidence derived from the latter's published work, though the broader picture is not incorrect. In fact, Dölger read Krumbacher through the obituary Karl Dieterich (1869 – 1935) had published in 1910 and who had overinterpreted his teacher's statement in the preface of his *Populäre Aufsätze* as an expression of his peasant background and his love of the practical, only to be followed by an extensive appreciation of Krumbacher published by Heisenberg in 1925.[160] But Krumbacher, who was the son of a wealthy estate owner and not the son of a peasant in the romantic understanding of the word, was not generally averse to Byzantine learned literature, as some of his important studies and other remarks in the GBL show. But Dölger, following Dieterich and Heisenberg, made Krumbacher look as the perfect Balkanologist of the Nazi Thirties and the fierce supporter of the *people's poetry* ("Volkspoesie") and their *naturally grown language* ("naturgewachsene Sprache") within this completely new ideological framework at the time when a new World War was erupting in Europe. The cultural and possibly military domination of the Balkans was very much an issue of the NSDAP elite and its regime. That Dieterich's *History of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature* was, in fact, much more the source for Dölger's image of Byzantine literature than Krumbacher's GBL,[161] can be clearly seen from the Belgrade talk where Dölger twice focuses on this enthusiastic, sometimes eccentric but, on the whole, mediocre scholar.[162] He writes:[163]

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159 Ibid.

160 K. Dieterich, Zum Gedächtnis an Karl Krumbacher. *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* 25 (1910) 279 – 295, esp. 287 – 288 (referring to K. Krumbacher, Populäre Aufsätze. Leipizg 1909, ix–x) and A. Heisenberg, Karl Krumbacher. *Allgäuer Geschichtsfreund* N.F. 24 (1925) 1 – 26.

161 K. Dieterich, Geschichte der byzantinischen und neugriechischen Litteratur. *Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen*, IV/1. Leipzig 1902.

162 See Agapitos, Dangerous literary liaisons (as footnote 1 above) 52 – 55 with further bibliography.

> Besonders ist jedoch auch hier noch des Leipziger Forschers K. Dieterich zu gedenken. Er hat in seiner mustergültigen Arbeit über die Sprache der südlichen Sporaden, die schon erwähnt wurde,[164] dem Volksbrauch breiten Raum gewidmet; er ist es auch, der schon in seiner "Geschichte der byzantinischen und neugriechischen Literatur" die balkanische Einheitlichkeit der Volksliteratur beobachtet und betont und besonders in seinem Aufsatz über die Volksdichtung der Balkanvölker entscheidende Merkmale dieser Einheitlichkeit festgestellt hat.[165]
>
> Es ist in erster Linie C. Jireček und neben ihm der nach dieser Richtung hin viel zu wenig gewürdigte Karl Dieterich, dessen Nachkriegsaufsatz über die Bedeutung des Balkanhandels als Wegbereiter der kulturellen Vereinheitlichung des Balkans ein glänzendes Zeugnis seines klaren Blickes für die tieferliegenden Zusammenhänge ist.[166]

It is important to note that Dölger, very much in tune with the vision of the Deutsche Akademie and its journal in the late Thirties underlined the "folklore" research of Dieterich and, in particular, his supposed understanding of the cultural unity of the Balkan people.[167] Dölger, therefore, did use the Nazi establishment and its institutions in order to pursue his own personal ambitions, even if he was not a member of the NSDAP.

Just a few months before the publication of the 1942 article on the Athos Expedition in the *EWD*, Dölger published in the same journal a brief article on fifty years of German Byzantine Studies, in which the achievements of German schol-

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163 Dölger, Die Leistung (as footnote 73 above) 173 and 175.

164 Dölger refers here to K. Dieterich, Sprache und Volksüberlieferung der südlichen Sporaden im Vergleich mit denen der übrigen Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres. *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung III: Neugriechische Dialektstudien*, 11. Wien 1908.

165 Dölger certainly refers here to K. Dieterich, Die Volksdichtung der Balkanländer in ihren gemeinsamen Elementen: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Volkskunde. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 12 (1902) 145 – 155, 272 – 291, 403 – 415, though the original "Balkanländer" has been substituted with "Balkanvölker", probably a *lapsus memoriae* but maybe also an unconscious adjustement to the ideology of the German Academy. Dieterich's paper presents a comparative analysis of the ballads of the dead brother and the bridge of Arta, but also of the Byzantine tale of *Digenis Akritis* and, surprisingly, Musaios' *Hero and Leander*.

166 K. Dieterich, Zur Kulturgeographie und Kulturgeschichte des Balkanhandels. *BZ* 31 (1931) 37 – 57 and 334 – 350.

167 In reading through the three studies of Dieterich, one can get quite a clear idea of his superficial – linguistic and folklorist – analysis, where material is thrown together in a seemingly logical way, but in fact without a historical method and an extreme tendency to continuous generalizations, an approach which is partly the reflection of folklore and linguistic studies of his times, but also a lack of scholarly rigour, the exact opposite of his teacher Krumbacher. It is not a coincidence that the third study of Dieterich to which Dölger refers as *brilliant evidence of his clear gaze* ("ein glänzendes Zeugnis seines klaren Blickes"), was printed in the *BZ* just as he was taking over the editorship in succession to Heisenberg.

arship since the foundation of the *BZ* (1892–1942) are celebrated.[168] In the article, Dölger describes the main achievement of half-a-century of "deutsche Byzantinistik" in the following manner:[169]

> Man lernte im Verlaufe der verflossenen 50 Jahre die byzantinische Kultur allmählich verstehen als die eigentümlich einheitliche Kultur eines mittelalterlichen Staatsvolkes mit einem großen beherrschenden politischen Leitgedanken, nämlich dem Gedanken des allein legitimen göttlichen Auftrages an Byzanz zur Führung des römischen Reiches im Rahmen der christlichen Weltordnung; so manche Erscheinung der byzantinischen Welt, die uns bis dahin als Ausfluß knechtischer Gesinnung oder "orientalischer" Starrheit erschien, ist uns dadurch heute, wo wir auch über eine viel breitere Quellenbasis aus dem Bereiche der Literatur und der Kunst verfügen, vielmehr als Manifestation eines stolzen Glaubens an eine göttliche Sendung mit unabänderlicher Tradition verständlich geworden.

Dölger's mystic/static model of Byzantine culture is expressed here in a clear and succinct form. Moreover, this model appears to modern readers as very close to the ideological and political claims of the Third Reich concerning its "göttlicher Auftrag". Dölger does not doubt the received image of hierarchic order and rigidity that Byzantine culture supposedly represents, but reinterprets this image as *the manifestation of a proud belief in a divine mission with an unchangeable tradition* ("Manifestation eines stolzen Glaubens an eine göttliche Sendung mit unabänderlicher Tradition"). This was certainly not the image of Byzantium generally accepted in international Byzantine Studies as a number of English, French and Russian publications on Byzantine history between 1910 and 1950 show.[170] But it was certainly Dölger's own understanding of Byzantium given that it suited his view of the Byzantine empire as a fully developed system of a national population under a *constitutionally organized state* ("Staatsvolk"). The article includes in its penultimate paragraph an important remark on how Dölger viewed the development of German Byzantine Studies from the days of Krumbacher to his own time:[171]

> So ist sie [i.e. die deutsche Byzantinistik] von der literarischen und philologischen Quellenforschung, welche anfänglich im Vordergrunde ihres Interesses stand, mehr und mehr zur Kulturforschung übergegangen und hat durch die Aufdeckung zahlreicher geistiger Berührungspunkte zwischen Byzanz und seinen Nachbarvölkern eine starke historische

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168 F. Dölger, Fünfzig Jahre deutsche Byzantinistik. *Europäischer Wissenschafts-Dienst* 2 (1942), no. 14, 23–25.
169 Ibid. 24.
170 Beyond the already mentioned Louis Bréhier, one might also refer indicatively to the publications of John B. Bury (1861–1927) and Alexander A. Vasiliev (1867–1953).
171 Dölger, Fünfzig Jahre (as footnote 168 above) 25.

> Richtung genommen ohne dabei ihre altbewährte streng und unbeirrbar quellenkritische Haltung aufzugeben.

This is the earliest expression of Dölger's aim to substitute Krumbacher's vision of Byzantium and Byzantine Studies with his own, in other words, to relegate Krumbacher's *Mittel- und Neugriechische Philologie* to an "archaic" phase of the field and then to assign to it a secondary place in his redifinition of *Byzantinistik* as a cultural and therefore historical discipline. At the same time, Dölger's image of Byzantine Philology as *not giving up her long-standing strict and unfailingly source-critical attitude* ("ohne dabei ihre altbewährte streng und unbeirrbar quellenkritische Haltung aufzugeben") shows his idea of what philology's task was supposed to be, and this was not literary analysis, another of Dölger's misreadings of Krumbacher's "anti-aestheticist" propositions.

The final act in this process of transformation are two papers that Dölger initially gave as public lectures. The first was delivered in June 1954 at the "Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte" of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, then in the German Democratic Republic.[172] In this lecture, Dölger took upon himself to describe which methodological demands does Byzantine Philology put on a researcher, and which large-scale tasks result from the present-day state of Byzantine Studies. This presentation and the suggestions made derive from a basic axiom Dölger describes at the very opening of his paper:[173]

> Es ist nicht meine Absicht, mich über die Aufgaben der Byzantinistik im allgemeinen zu verbreiten; es soll vielmehr dem Titel des Vortrages entsprechend, nur von den Aufgaben der Byzanzphilologie die Rede sein, d. h. von dem Komplex: Editionsphilologie, Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte. Dabei werden die Aufgaben immer unter dem Gesichtspunkt betrachtet werden, daß die Byzanzphilologie sich nur mit verhältnismäßig wenigen Literaturprodukten von literarisch-ästhetischem Eigenwert zu beschäftigen hat (mann kann die Vulgärpoesie, einen Teil der Kirchendichtung und die Werke der Geschichtsschreiber als hervorragende Leistungen der byzantinischen Prosa dazu rechnen), daß sie also auf weite Strecken hin die Funktion einer geschichtlichen Hilfswissenschaft erfüllt.

In no clearer terms had until then Byzantine Philology been demoted to an *historical auxiliary discipline* ("geschichtliche Hilfswissenschaft") because it occupied itself with only few works of literary and aesthetic merit, among which Dölger counts vernacular poetry, a part of liturgical poetry and the works of his-

172 F. Dölger, Aufgaben der byzantinischen Philologie von heute. *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 44–58; it was reprinted in idem, Παρασπορά (as footnote 48 above) 20–37, from where the text is quoted.

173 Dölger, Aufgaben 20.

toriography as outstanding achievements of Byzantine prose.[174] At this point, Dölger has succeeded into turning the "Krumbacher paradigm" completely on its head, for this is certainly not what its initiator had in mind when he wrote the preface to the first edition of the GBL.[175] Out of Krumbacher's plea for a historically appropriate aesthetical understanding of "ugly" (*qua* non-romantic and non-aestheticist) Byzantine literature, where philology is a holistic discipline (i. e. *Philologie* in the sense of Willamowitz),[176] Dölger turned Byzantine literature into an assortment of worthless text which, with only few exceptions, should be edited exclusively to support historical research and not for the purposes of literary appreciation and cultural studies. While such an attitude would be understandable in the time before Krumbacher, Dölger's statement is quite surprising and reflects a very personal perspective. In the 1954 talk he goes on to enumerate which types of texts needed serious re-editing and which unedited texts needed to be published. Among the former group place of pride take historiographic texts. Among the latter, Dölger chooses to write about the edition of *the highly rhetorical literature of letters and official speeches* ("die hochrhetorische Literatur der Briefe und offiziellen Reden")[177] but, in fact, he talks only about letters. Having briefly presented the proposal of Ioannis Sykoutris (1901–1937) at the 1930 International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Athens, that a *Corpus Epistolographorum Byzantinorum* should be initiated, he writes:[178]

> Man mag sich nun zu dem literarischen Wert dieser zumeist inhaltsleeren und nur als kunstvoll zisellierte Wortgeschenke an Freunde und hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten gedachten Literaturprodukte stellen wie man will: Sie verdienen, wenn auch nicht alle, so doch in vernünftiger Auswahl in extenso herausgegeben und, soweit sie auch keine besonderen sprachlichen oder literarischen Feinheiten bieten oder historischen Quellenwert besitzen, wenigstens durch eine Inhaltsangabe nebst Incipit und Explicit bekanntgegeben zu werden.

Here we have an unambiguous statement of Dölger's view of Byzantine "rhetorical" prose literature which appears as a series of finely chiseled textual products with minimal value both as literary works of art and as historical sources. The

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174 This aesthetically meritorious triad is a misreading of Krumbacher's statement about his preferences in the study of Byzantine literature (see the references above in footnote 160).
175 On Krumbacher's paradigm see also succinctly P. A. Agapitos, Grammar, genre and patronage in the twelfth century: A scientific paradigm and its implications. *JÖB* 64 (2014) 1–22, esp. 1–4.
176 Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 39–41.
177 Dölger, Aufgaben 34.
178 Ibid.

fact that Dölger is completely silent about "official speeches" is also a clear indication of his negative view of such textual products. In this appreciation of 1954 (a time when in France historians were opening a completely new approach to the study of history's *longue durée* leaving behind them the study of *histoire événementielle*),[179] Dölger shows his lack of philological acumen and historical sensitivity. The talk ends with the following statement:[180]

> Im ganzen hoffe ich gezeigt zu haben, daß die Aufgaben der byzantinischen Philologie von heute im wesentlichen, auf Grund fleißiger und vielseitiger Vorarbeiten, doch schon jene großen Zusammenfassungen von der Art sein können, daß sie die Forschungsergebnisse des Faches den übrigen Wissenschaftsdisziplinen einigermaßen zuverlässig und jedenfalls bequem zur Verfügung stellen und die Byzantinistik damit aus ihrer bislang noch immer bestehenden Isolierung herausführen können. Daß es dann auch noch lockende und lohnende Einzelaufgaben auf allen Teilgebieten der Byzanzphilologie für den Wagemutigen und geduldig Zähen gibt, mag sich dabei nebenher ergeben haben.

Dölger first draws the boundaries in which Byzantine Philology has to operate; the key images he uses are *diligent groundwork* ("fleißige Vorarbeiten") and *great synopses* ("große Zusammenfassungen"), these being rather uninspiring perspectives. That there are *attractive and rewarding individual tasks in all subfields of Byzantine Philology* ("lockende und lohnende Einzelaufgaben auf allen Teilgebieten der Byzanzphilologie"), might *at the same time*[181] result from the work on the major tasks. Such individual tasks (i.e. critical editions, studies of an author's language and style, studies of an author's life and works, studies on the history of the Greek language) need a particular work ethos in order to be tackled, and thus are reserved *for the bold and patiently tenacious* ("für den Wagemütigen und geduldig Zähen"). It is almost the image that Ernst Stein had evoked in reviewing Dölger's *Finanzverwaltung*, where diligence, discipline and tenaciousness were the cardinal virtues.[182] That these virtues alone did often lead to unsatisfactory results, can be seen from Dölger's own philological work, be it the problematic attempt to find the sources of Meliteniotes' *Verses on Chastity* (see p. 749 above), be it the partialized linguistic analysis of the

179 On the "Annales School" see P. Burke, The French historical revolution: the Annales School 1929–89. Stanford ²1991 and A. Burguière, L'École des Annales: Une histoire intellectuelle. Paris 2006.
180 Dölger, Aufgaben 37.
181 The meaning of the adverb "nebenher" here can mean both "at the same time, alongside with" but also "incidentally" with a slight negative colouring.
182 It is instructive to read Dölger's statements of 1954 against those of his teacher Heisenberg, who fifty years earlier had written an article on the same topic but with quite a different point of view as to what Byzantine Philology was; see p. 713 above and footnote 18.

Athos documents (see p. 750 above), be it the tenacious but misguided attempt to prove on the basis of a huge word index the authorship of John of Damascus for the *Edifying Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph*.[183] Moreover, in the courses he taught during his tenure in Munich, Dölger similarly inculcated to his students his concept of Byzantine literature and the tasks of Byzantine Philology.[184] It comes, therefore, as no surprise that those of his students, who produced philological dissertations, repeated in practice his approach.[185]

In December 1956, on the occasion of the centenary of Krumbacher's birth, Dölger delivered a festive speech at the University of Munich on the founder of Byzantine Studies. It was not published then, but was included as Dölger's tribute to Krumbacher in the little volume prepared as a *presentation gift* ("Festgabe") for the participants at the Eleventh International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Munich in September 1958.[186] The very long closing paragraph of the speech reads as follows:[187]

> Solches Beispiel, wie es der Heros Ktistes Krumbacher seinen Nachkommen gegeben hat, verpflichtet. Manches hat sich in der heutigen Byzantinistik geändert. Insbesondere hat sich das Interesse von der Literatur und von der Editionsphilologie, welche noch unter meinem verehrten Lehrer Heisenberg, eine Haupttätigkeit des Seminars war, auf die Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte verlagert. Es gibt nicht mehr allzuviele Texte, welche herauszugeben es sich lohnt – abgesehen von Neuausgaben einer Reihe wichtiger Autoren, welche als Lebensauf-

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183 F. Dölger, Der griechische Barlaam-Roman: Ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos. *Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 1. Ettal 1953, esp. VII on the index; for a full-scale critique of Dölger's approach see Volk, Barlaam et Ioasaph (as footnote 106 above) 45 – 51.
184 A list of his lecture courses (1926 – 1945) can be found in the Attachment G/6, §II.A of the Questionnaire. The linguistic-philological courses are: Historische Grammatik des Griechischen von der Koine bis zur Gegenwart, Geschichte der volksgriechischen (vulgärgriechischen) Literatur, Lektüre ausgewählter volksgriechischer Texte, Quellenkunde zur byzantinischen Geschichte, Lektüre ausgewählter Texte zur byzantinischen Quellenkunde. One should note that there are two courses on vernacular literature, but none on learned literature, while the latter is subsumed under the heading "Quellenkunde". It should be further noted that the title of the first course is practically identical to the title of the talk given by Stylianos Kapsomenos (the most distinguished linguist student of Dölger) at the 1958 Byzantinist Congress in Munich (on this talk see Agapitos, Dangerous literary liaisons, as footnote 1 above, 78 – 81), a good example of Dölger's static approach to Byzantine language and literature.
185 Reading the list compiled in Wirth, Polychronion (as footnote 28 above) 31 – 33 ("Arbeiten von Schülern") one might indicatively mention Anni <Lesmüller> Werner, Georg Stadtmüller, Max Bachmann, Stephanie von Stepski Doliwa, Dimitrios Karathanasis, Fritz Hörmann (later husband of Stephanie von Stepski), Stylianos Kapsomenos, Gertrud Böhlig, Bonifaz Kotter, Stamatia Krawczynski, Peter Wirth.
186 F. Dölger, Karl Krumbacher, in Χάλικες (as footnote 15 above) 121 – 137.
187 Ibid. 133 – 135.

> gaben sich schon in den Händen eifriger Forscher befinden. Die Bedeutung des Seminars als Pflanzstätte der methodischen Bearbeitung auch geschichtlicher Fragen hat dieserhalb nichts an ihrer Bedeutung [i. e. der Editionsphilologie] eingebüßt; denn der Byzantinist muß angesichts der Fragwürdigkeit der vorhandenen Texte stets in der Lage sein, seine Quellengrundlage mit philologischer Akribie zu prüfen, unter Umständen unter Heranziehung der handschriftlichen Grundlage. Hinsichtlich des Sprachlichen haben sich inzwischen zahlreiche neue Erkenntnisse ergeben; die Untersuchung der sprachlichen Entwicklung in Griechenland hat sich inzwischen auf die Dialektforschung ausgedehnt und auch für die Gemeinsprache wichtige Erkenntnisse zutagegefördert, welche heute bei Beurteilung der sprachlichen Verhältnisse eines Textes berücksichtigt werden müssen. Sekundärquellen wie die Urkunden, die Münzen und die Inschriften sind seit Krumbacher neben die literarisch überlieferten Quellen getreten und erfordern heute stärkste Berücksichtigung, wenn wir uns eine Vorstellung von den byzantinischen Verhältnissen machen wollen. Die Problematik hat sich auf allen Gebieten des geistigen Lebens in Byzanz verfeinert und erheischt die Beherrschung mehrerer Zweige der Gesamtbyzantinistik für die Bearbeitung eines Gegenstandes. Dies bedeutet, daß die byzantinische Literatur, zu Zeiten Krumbachers noch der alles beherrschende Mittelpunkt des Faches, heute zwar nicht die Rolle einer Hilfswissenschaft, aber als Hauptanliegen des Faches etwas in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden ist. Die Fragen der Beziehungen von Byzanz zu den anderen Staaten und Völkern des Mittelalters, die geistigen, politischen, rechtlichen und wirtschaftlichen, stehen mehr als früher im Mittelpunkt des Interesses und diese Entwicklung hat die erfreuliche Folge, daß auch Nachbarwissenschaften, voran die Geschichtswissenschaft, die bisher ungerne über die nationalen Grenzen hinausgeblickt hat, sich für diese Zusammenhänge zu interessieren beginnt. Wir sehen in dieser Entwicklung kein Abweichen von der von K. Krumbacher begründeten Richtung, sondern eine natürliche, der allgemeinen Tendenz des Fortschrittes der Wissenschaft angepaßte Entwicklung. Was wichtig ist, ist die Tatsache, daß wir seinen Grundsätzen äußerster Gewissenhaftigkeit, strengster und unbestechlicher Kritik und Abwehr jeglicher Einseitgkeit allzeit treu zu folgen entschlossen sind. Mit dem Blick auf die großen und umfassenden Aufgaben der Forschung wollen wir Krumbachers Werk fortsetzen, sei es auch in der Bemühung um ein an sich kleines Problem, das jedoch mit allen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln und mit größter Akribie und Sauberkeit der Methode gelöst werden soll; so hoffen wir, seinen Absichten und Zielen am besten gerecht zu werden.

From today's perspective this passage appears astonishing. Framed by an opening and a closing statement declaring in "finely chiseled" but quite conventional phrases respect and loyalty to Krumbacher's vision of Byzantine Studies, we read one of the most undisguised subversions of this vision by the very holder of the chair of "Middle and Modern Greek Philology". Most of the key words and concepts that had already appeared in the talks of 1939 and 1954 and the article of 1942 are here brought together in order to explain a shift in Byzantine Studies from Philology to History. Though the shift takes place at the Munich "Seminar", the vague phrasing of the relevant sentences gives the impression that this is a general and broadly accepted change of direction in Byzantine Studies. The axiomatic declaration that *there are not all that many texts worth editing, except for re-editions of a series of important authors, that are already in the hands of indus-*

trious researchers as lifelong tasks ("Es gibt nicht mehr allzuviele Texte, welche herauszugeben es sich lohnt – abgesehen von Neuausgaben einer Reihe wichtiger Autoren, welche als Lebensaufgaben sich schon in den Händen eifriger Forscher befinden") is probably one of the most erroneous statements that could have been made by a professional Byzantinist in view of the masses of unedited texts or of the highly problematic older editions of most of Byzantine literature in 1954 – a fact that Dölger acknowledges a few lines later when he speaks of the *doubtfulness of the available texts* ("Fragwürdigkeit der vorhandenen Texte"). It could be probable that Dölger misjudged the state of the art in Byzantinist textual criticism in the Fifties of the twentieth century. But it is rather more probable that this statement (just as the other ones he had enounced earlier) reflects, on the one hand, his strong personal attitude towards Byzantine literature and, on the other, his view and appreciation of Krumbacher, a point to which I shall return in the final part of the paper.

Dölger states quite explicitly in the middle of the passage quoted that Byzantine Philology does not stand anymore in the centre of scholarly interest and that, though it has not been demoted to the role of an auxiliary discipline (which was what in 1954 he had suggested should be done), it *has been pushed somewhat to the background as the chief concern of the discipline* ("aber als Hauptanliegen des Faches etwas in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden ist"). After presenting what he thought the field was interested in, he embarks on a defense of this change, which he sees not *as a deviation from the direction founded by K. Krumbacher, but rather as a natural development, conforming with a general tendency of the progress of scholarship* ("Wir sehen in dieser Entwicklung kein Abweichen von der von K. Krumbacher begründeten Richtung, sondern eine natürliche, der allgemeinen Tendenz des Fortschrittes der Wissenschaft angepaßte Entwicklung"). These assertions are left completely undocumented, and it would indeed have been difficult to document them with quantitative and qualitative evidence. However, they were printed in 1958 to be read by the participants of the Munich International Congress as a kind of legacy of the retiring Professor Ordinarius to his successor. Rather disturbing is the use of the adjective "natural" to characterize this "development", for Dölger (especially after 1945) should have known that there exists no such thing as "natural" in scholarship and science, but rather processes of change instigated by specific needs of various pressure groups. The result of this development for German Byzantine Studies was that philological research gradually moved away from Munich, that the theoretically informed interpretation of Byzantine literature never blossomed fully (despite the solitary efforts of Dölger's successor Hans-Georg Beck) and that the production of editions of Medieval Greek texts begun moving towards the broader domain of Classical Philology as incorporating Byzantine

Philology, exactly what Krumbacher had fought against in the late nineteenth century.

5. The hieratic model of Byzantine literature

In paraphrasing a term coined in 1931 by the Austrian art historian Ernst Diez (1878 – 1961),[188] we shall call Dölger's concept of Byzantine literature the "hieratic model". Diez's concept of the "hieratic style" was related to the ideas prevalent in the early twentieth century about Byzantine art as a mystic system, but it was not related to Third Reich ideology, as were some of the theories proposed by Josef Strzygowski (1862 – 1941).[189] Shortly after the Second World War, Otto Demus (1902 – 1990), pupil of Strzygowksi but collaborator of Diez, used the concept (though he called it "hierarchical disposition") to explain the specific structural system of iconographic programs found in the churches of the Middle Byzantine period.[190] The hieratic model (obviously, based on Pseudo-Dionysius' *Heavenly Hierarchy*) presuposes a strict and fully defined place for all elements of a major "system", be this God's heavenly kingdom, the emperor's terrestrial kingdom, or, again, the painterly disposition of a church. Metaphorically speaking, in Dölger's perception of Byzantine literature the hieratic model defines the taxonomical and hierarchic disposition of texts inside the many drawers of a large imaginary chest. Each drawer has its inner compartments that are defined through the boundaries of an enforced "Systematik".

The first and quite extensive public expression of Dölger's hieratic model of Byzantine literature appeared in 1938 as a popularizing essay with the title "The Classicism of the Byzantines, its causes and its consequences".[191] The essay

188 E. Diez / O. Demus, Byzantine mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni. Cambridge, MA 1931, 24 – 36.

189 See the posthumous essay by E. Dietz, Zur Kritik Strzygowskis. *Kunst des Orients* 4 (1963) 98 – 109.

190 O. Demus, Byzantine mosaic decoration: aspects of monumental art in Byzantium. London 1947, 3 – 39. On Demus see H. Belting, Otto Demus, 1902 – 1990. *DOP* 45 (1991) vii–xi; on Demus' "hierarchical disposition", its applications and limitations see D. Mouriki, Τὰ ψηφιδωτὰ τῆς Νέας Μονῆς Χίου. Τόμος Πρῶτος: Κείμενο. Athens 1985, 267 – 276.

191 F. Dölger, Der Klassizismus der Byzantiner, seine Ursachen und seine Folgen. *Geistige Arbeit: Zeitung aus der wissenschaftlichen Welt* vol. 5, no. 12 (1938) 3 – 5 (reprinted in idem, Παρασπορά, as footnote 48 above, 38 – 45, from where the text is quoted). The journal was published in Berlin by de Gruyter from January 1934 until November 1944; it was a continuation of the *Minerva-Zeitschrift: Nachrichten für die gelehrte Welt*, published from January 1925 until Sep-

opens with a reference to Krumbacher and his importance in giving form to the previously undifferentiated mass of Byzantine texts, so that Medieval Greek religious poetry, historiography and vernacular poetry should receive a place of honour in medieval world literature.[192] We find here the same triad of texts that we have encountered in other papers by Dölger, presented as the great literary achievements of the Byzantines (see p. 755 above). What follows is a complete demolition of Byzantine literature under the notional category of "classicism":[193]

> Mit einem Wort: das Lebenselement dieser Literatur ist nicht die freie und schöpferische Gestaltung neuer Gedanken oder der künstlerische Ausdruck ursprünglicher Gefühle und Empfindungen, sondern man spürt, daß hinter ihnen ein hartes Gesetz steht, welches sie in das enge Bett einer alleingültigen geprägten Form und sogar eines alleinerlaubten Stoffkreises zwängt: es ist die unablässige Mimesis berühmter Vorbilder, es ist Klassizismus der Form und bis zu einem gewissen Grade sogar des Inhalts.

This axiomatic statement, that represents a monolithic overstatement of the Krumbacher paradigm, is then expounded in a broad overview.[194] The absence of important ancient forms, such as "drama" is deplored, the vacuous repetition and variation of other ancient genres, such as the "epigram" is criticized,[195] the use by Byzantine historians of almost direct quotations from older historiography to describe and/or characterize people and situations is stigmatized.[196]

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tember 1933 also by de Gruyter. The title change alone (note the keyword "Arbeit") indicates that the continuation had undergone a re-orientation towards Nationalist-Socialist ideology.

192 Dölger, Der Klassizismus 38.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid. 38–42.

195 It is not necessary to point to the complete re-appreciation of Byzantine "learned" poetry that has taken place in the past thirty years, but the study by M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry from Pisidies to Geometres: texts and contexts. *WBS*, 24/1–2. Wien 2003–2018, and the collective volumes by P. Odorico / P.A. Agapitos / M. Hinterberger (eds.), "Doux remède ...": Poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IVe colloque philologique "ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ" (Paris, février 2006). *Dossiers Byzantins*, 9. Paris 2009 and W. Hörandner / A. Rhoby / N. Zagklas (eds.), A Companion to Byzantine Poetry. *Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World*, 4. Leiden/New York 2019 testify to this immense progress.

196 From historiography Dölger refers to Anna Komnene who in her *Alexiad* (XIII 1, 3; 384.24–25 Reinsch/Kambylis) quotes two lines from Theophylaktos Simokates' *Histories* (I 1, 3; 39.9–12 de Boor); a closer reading of the two passages shows a completely different situation than what Dölger presents. For a different and productive approach to the use of quotations in the *Alexiad* see D. R. Reinsch, Die Zitate in der Alexias Anna Komnenes. *Symmmeikta* 12 (1998) 63–74. It should be noted that from Dölger's essay (as reprinted in Παρασπορά) we find a straight line leading to the approach of Byzantine literature taken by scholars such as R. J. H.

Then follows an explanation for the causes of this classicism, which, according to Dölger, "lie in the broader spiritual attitude of the Byzantine people, that is ultimately defined by the main political and ecclesiastical concept of the Byzantines about the order of life".[197] In other words, the static model of a society living under the order of an immutable mystic state is fully projected onto the totality of its textual production.[198] Such an approach could only lead to a serious negation of Byzantine literature as an actual expression of political, social, cultural and aesthetic concerns and, thus, to a misunderstanding of its importance as a system of meaningful representation.[199]

Dölger's perspective belongs, in my opinion, to what the American historian Jeffrey Herf termed "reactionary modernism" in Germany between the two wars, that is, an attempt to employ rationalist and romantic concepts in favour of promoting a technological yet poetic modernity that simultaneoulsy looked forward

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Jenkins, The Hellenistic origins of Byzantine literature. *DOP* 17 (1963) 37 – 52 (quoting Dölger's essay on p. 46 footnote 31) and C. Mango, Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror. Oxford 1975 (repr. in idem, Byzantium and its image. London 1984, no. II), both of whom excelled in their "denigration" of Byzantine literature. On the change of attitudes towards Byzantine textual production see M. Mullett, Dancing with deconstructionists in the gardens of the Muses: New literary history versus ? *BMGS* 14 (1990) 258 – 275 and eadem, New literary history and the history of Byzantine literature: A worthwhile endeavour?, in P. Odorico / P. A. Agapitos (eds.), Pour une nouvelle histore de la littérature byzantine: problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes d'un colloque international philologique (Nicosie, mai 2000). *Dossiers Byzantins*, 1. Paris, 37 – 60, both papers reprinted in eadem, Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium. Aldershot 2007, nrs. XVI and XVII.

197 Dölger, Der Klassizismus 42: "Sie liegen in der geistigen Gesamthaltung des byzantinischen Volkes, welche ihrerseits wiederum letztlich durch die politische und kirchliche Grundauffassung der Byzantiner von der Ordnung des Lebens bestimmt ist".

198 Ibidem 42 – 44. It should be repeated that the essay reads like a summary of Dieterich's *History of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature*; see also p. 755 – 756 above.

199 For an intelligently subversive reaction to Dölger's concept of classicism and its consequences see Gy. Moravcsik, Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung, in Wirth, Polychronion (as footnote 28 above) 366 – 377, where the eminent Hungarian Byzantinist turns Dölger's paper of 1938 on its head, arguing many years before a series of recent publications, that historiography has to be first understood as "literature" in order to be then used as a "source". For some of these recent publications see, indicatively, Ja. Ljubarskij, *Quellenforschung* and/or literary criticism: Narrative structures in Byzantine historical writings. *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998) 5 – 73; P. Odorico / P. A. Agapitos / M. Hinterberger (eds.), L'écriture de la mémoire: La littérarité de l'historiographie. Actes du IIIe colloque international philologique "EPMHNEIA" (Nicosie, mai 2004). *Dossiers Byzantins*, 6. Paris 2006; R. Macrides (ed.), History as literature in Byzantium. Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Birmingham, April 2007). *Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*, 15. Aldershot 2010.

and backward.[200] More specifically, Dölger's reactionary approach – with its belief in immutable character traits of peoples ("Völker") and in an ideologically fully developed state mechanism – appears as a regressive inversion of Krumbacher's liberal and reformist proposals about Byzantine literature. Krumbacher's liberalism can be clearly documented in the extensive review he published between September 1899 and January 1900 in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* of Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.[201] Though Krumbacher praises in his review the effort and synthetic skills of the author, he proceeds in a masterly cool manner to demolish the historical substance of his theory of race and its highly problematic vision of a racially "pure" Germanic future.

Almost sixty years after the publication of this review, J. B. Aufhauser, last surviving doctoral student of Krumbacher, contributed to the *Festgabe* of the Munich International Congress a fine essay with memories of his teacher.[202] In order to show that Krumbacher was not very much interested in simple social pastime, Aufhauser tells an anecdote from the Carnival of 1904. Krumbacher and his former highschool student Herman Uhde[203] were sitting in the Café Luitpold and – in the midst of the festivities – were seriously discussing Chamberlain's *Grundlagen*, which Krumbacher completely rejected, especially because of its glorification of the Aryan race.[204] Interestingly enough, Dölger refers in the same volume to an incident that took place between Krumbacher and Chamberlain shortly

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200 J. Herf, Reactionary modernism: technology, culture and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich. Cambridge 1984, 1–17 and 189–216; on the broader context see R. GRIFFIN, Modernism and Fascism: the sense of a beginning under Mussolini and Hitler. Basingstoke 2007. For a further critical approach see K. H. Jarausch, Organic modernity: National socialism as alternative modernism, in Baranowksi/Nolzen/Szejnmann, Companion (as footnote 49 above) 33–46.
201 On Chamberlain's "magnum opus" and the Verlag F. Bruckmann see p. 735 above. That the review was important to Krumbacher is evidenced by the fact that he included it in his Populäre Aufsätze (as footnote 160 above) 196–228.
202 J. B. Aufhauser, Karl Krumbacher: Erinnerungen, in Χάλικες (as footnote 15 above) 161–187. Johann Baptist Aufhauser (1881–1963) was a high school teacher, theologian and historian of religion. His dissertation was a critical edition of the *Miracula Sancti Georgii* (Leipzig 1913). Some years later, he published a very interesting travel diary of his journey to the Near and Far East as a missionary; see J. B. Aufhauser, Meine Missionsfahrt nach dem fernen Osten: Religiös-kulturelle Streiflichter zum nahen und fernen Orient. München 1927.
203 Aufhauser probably refers to Herman Uhde-Bernays (1873–1965) who had studied German Literature and History of Art in Munich, Berlin and Heidelberg, where he received his PhD in 1902, but worked as a journalist and art critic. He was a declared antifascist and, between 1937–1945, was forbidden by the Nazi regime to publish.
204 Aufhauser, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 164.

after the publication of the former's review of the latter's book.[205] The incident was narrated by Chamberlain in his intellectual autobiography *Lifepaths of my Thought*, where it served a very different purpose, namely, to show that the author was not a bookworm (like the famous Byzantinist) but a man of contemplation and romantic-scientific disposition, and that Krumbacher having recognized this would have written a different review.[206] Dölger, who notes that the story comes from Chamberlain, interprets the incident as Krumbacher's appreciation of the practical approach to things, but concedes that Krumbacher would not have changed his opinion of the reviewed work. Dölger's reference proves, on the one hand, that he had read Chamberlain's autobiography, a work where the nostalgia for the fallen Wilhelminian Kaiserreich is more than apparent. On the other hand, the peculiar reference to an author whose works were considered after the Second World War to have been a major influence on Nazi ideology, expresses Dölger's latent antagonism towards Krumbacher and his political views. I believe that here lies one of the main reasons for Dölger's wish to change the philological profile of the Munich Seminar and to demote Byzantine Philology by dismissing Byzantine literature as "lifeless" and "unoriginal".

It seems that the appearance of the essay on classicism in 1938 was not fortuitous, given that exactly at this time Dölger was offering his scholarly help to Walter Otto (1878–1941), professor of Ancient History at the University of Munich and chief editor of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*. Otto wished to expand its scope and content in order to serve his broader vision of antiquity.[207] He created a new section within the *Handbuch* (no. XII) in order to accomodate a broadly drawn *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, as a successor to Krumbacher's GBL. The overall form of this successor was finalized when Dölger's essay appeared. Georg Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* was the first volume of this new handbook, published a few months after the outbreak of the war and just before the sudden death of Otto.[208] In his 1940 preface to Ostrogorsky's volume, Otto lucidly expounded his concept of the *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, its chronological boundaries and its structure. Dölger was to contribute in a history of By-

205 Dölger, Krumbacher (as footnote 186 above) 129.
206 H.S. Chamberlain, Lebenswege meines Denkens. München 1919, 318–319. Needless to say, the book was published by Verlag F. Bruckmann.
207 On Otto's vision of the field see his own remarks in W. Otto, Kulturgeschichte des Altertums: Ein Überblick über neue Erscheinungen. München 1925, 93 where he devotes a paragraph on Byzantine culture as part of the *Handbuch*.
208 G. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.1.2. München 1940 (its third and final edition appeared in 1963, from where the text is quoted).

zantine literature the volume on *Die byzantinische profane Literatur* (XII, 2.2) – the second part of a tripartite handbook.[209] In the last paragraph of the preface Otto thanks his colleague Dölger about the latter's interest in the *Byzantinisches Handbuch* and his help in setting up the whole project.[210] The 1938 essay looks like a summary for an introduction to a new history of Byzantine literature where Krumbacher's vision and work would have been imperceptibly inverted.

On account of Dölger's position as professor of Middle and Modern Greek Literature in Munich, his collaboration with Otto and his intention to write a handbook on Byzantine secular literature, he was invited by Bruno Snell (1896–1986) and Hartmut Erbse (1915–2004) to write a substantial overview of Byzantine and Modern Greek literature for a *Handbuch der griechischen und lateinischen Philologie* that the two Hamburg classicists had initiated. However, the project collapsed for financial and organisational reasons in 1950.[211] From Dölger's overview only the first issue on "Poetry in the purist language" was published.[212] Yet we know how the plan of the whole overview looked like because it was printed at the very end of the first issue.[213] It was to include one part on Byzantine and one part on Modern Greek literature (three and two issues respectively). The part on Byzantine literature was divided into two chapters, literature in the *purist* and in the *popular* language ("Reinsprache" and "Volkssprache" respectively).[214] The part on Modern Greek literature and language would include

209 Ibid. VII–X. On Dölger's contribution see the reference in Hoeck, Festschrift Dölger (as footnote 28 above) 36*.

210 Ibid. X: "Immer wieder hat er mir in selbstloser Weise seine wertvolle Hilfe gewährt, Hindernisse wegzuräumen, die sich dem Aufbau des Ganzen entgegenstellten". On the first phase of Otto's plans for the *Byzantinisches Handbuch* see H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.2.1. München 1959, vii–viii, where he explicitly describes Dölger's role as Otto's "chief consultant".

211 Beyond Dölger's contribution, only two more chapters were published: on the ancient novel by Rudolf Helm (1872–1966) and on Roman satire by Ulrich Knoche (1902–1968).

212 F. Dölger, Die byzantinische Literatur in der Reinsprache: Ein Abriß. Teil I.1: Die byzantinische Dichtung in der Reinsprache, in B. Snell / H. Erbse (eds.), Handbuch der griechischen und lateinischen Philologie. C: Byzantinische Literatur. Berlin 1948 (booklet with separate pagination). The overview has been reprinted in: Εὐχαριστήριον. Franz Dölger zum 70. Geburtstage von ehemaligen griechischen Schülern gewidmet. Neuauflage der "Byzantinischen Dichtung in der Reinsprache" (1948) nebst einigen Übersetzungen aus neugriechischen Dichtungen. Thessaloniki 1961, 1–63; though the text of the 1948 chapter has remained the same, Dölger added bibliographical information up to 1959 (see his own preface in Εὐχαριστήριον V–VI).

213 Dölger, Dichtung 47.

214 I consciously translate here Dölger's two terms with those used then by English scholarship; see, for, example, R. M. Dawkins, The Greek language in the Byzantine period, in N. H.

three chapters, one on the development of the Modern Greek language, one on morphology, syntax, lexicography and dialects, and one on the history of Modern Greek literature starting with Cretan poetry (probably from the early sixteenth century onwards). More specifically, the chapter on Byzantine literature in the purist language was divided into two sections, one on poetry (the published issue) and one on prose (the second issue). The section on poetry includes subsections on secular poetry, ecclesiastical poetry, and on metrics and rhythm. The section on prose would have included subsections on theological literature, historiography, and on scientific literature.[215] The chapter on vernacular literature (the third issue) was to include two sections, one on chronicles, popular books and didactic topics, and one on poetry (verse romances and poetical treatmens of historical topics).

In the GBL, content organization was a necessary but not rigid taxonomical tool, and the GLM shows clearly how flexible a synthesis Krumbacher could write.[216] In Dölger's overview, content organization developed into an immutable structure of separate units that allowed for no external flexibility or internal interaction, even if Dölger seemingly retained the overall structure of the GBL. This is the imposition of a minutely worked-out, logical and fixed structural plan on a mass of extremely varied material, a model similar to what Dölger had used for his study of Byzantine documents, and this is what I refer to as the hieratic model.

Because the chapter on "poetry in the purist language" opens the whole overview, Dölger begins with a general introduction to Byzantine literature.[217] Here he explains why Byzantine literature, in order to be understood correctly, cannot be studied either through the perspective of classical philology nor be interpreted by means of modern literary criticism. It should rather be studied on its own as an autonomous and entirely closed literary system. The reason, Dölger

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Baynes / H. S. L. B. Moss (eds.), Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization. Oxford 1948, 252 – 267.

215 It is surprising that no subsection on rhetorical literature is included in this section, which means that a substantial and important part of Byzantine texts would have been ommited.

216 In the general bibliography to the overview's introduction, Dölger refers to the GLM as follows: "*K. Krumbacher* hat nochmals in einer kürzeren Zusammenfassung einen Überblick über die byzantinische Literatur vom 6.–15. Jh. geboten in der *Kultur der Gegenwart*[3], Teil I, Abt. VIII, Leipzig/Berlin 1912, S. 319 – 370, hier für die Jahrhunderte IV–VI ergänzt durch die Darstellung von *U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff*, ebenda S. 275 – 303" (Dölger, Dichtung 13). This presentation of the GLM is misleading, since neither is the text a summary of GBL[2], nor is it supplemented by Wilamowitz's chapter; see Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 42 – 45. In my opinion, this is another example of Dölger's antagonism to Krumbacher.

217 Dölger, Dichtung 7 – 13.

asserts, is that Byzantine culture had from its very beginning developed a model of thought that did not allow for any change or development. More specifically, in the case of Byzantine literature this was reflected in the full application of classicism, so that texts were imitating the classical and Hellenistic models in endless and mostly meaningless variations. Since Constantine the Great, the Byzantine state and its ruler (the "Kaiser" of the "Oströmisches Reich") had worked out a system of governance that established the divine as the reference point of every action on earth. Dölger's abhorrence of cultural mixture, as he saw it, in Byzantium[218] – obviously, a remnant of his pre-war ideology – led him to impose rigid structures on Byzantine literature that none of his two predecessors on the Munich chair would have even thought of imposing. This meant, for example, that Byzantine poetry was strictly divided into "epic", "lyric", and "spiritual", in a rather superficial and wholly arbitrary version of the Ancient Greek generic categories. Already my brief summary of the introduction makes it clear that Dölger's opinions had not changed since his 1938 essay. In fact, a closer reading of the 1948 introduction shows that he took over about two thirds of the text verbatim from his 1938 essay.

Dölger never completed his overview of 1948, but he had the opportunity to present a fuller picture of Byzantine literature in a respective chapter of *The Byzantine Empire* that formed volume IV of *The Cambridge Medieval History* (= CMH).[219] Though the volume was published in 1967, the typescript had been sent to the press by 1961.[220] Dölger's CMH overview once again reflects his overall negative attitude to most larger groups of Byzantine textual production. Phrases such as "Byzantine literature has no really genuine secular lyric poetry" or "caught up in this intellectual narcissism, the Byzantines ignored the vital spiritual forces at work on the peripheries of the central core of Greek territory", not only reflect this negative attitude but, and more importantly, they introduce literary and historical concepts quite alien to Byzantine society and culture.[221] The

218 Ibid. 7 ("beispielloses Vermischen") and 10 ("ein Produkt der Mischung barbarischer Intelligenz mit dem griechischen Grundelement") on the condition of the "Reichskultur" in early Byzantine times.

219 F. Dölger, Byzantine literature, in J. M. Hussey (ed.), The Cambridge Medieval History. Volume IV: The Byzantine empire. Part II: Government, church and civilisation. Cambridge 1967, 206 – 263. Dölger had originally written his contribution in German, which was then translated into English.

220 See Hussey, Preface, in CMH IV.1, VII.

221 Both pasages come from the introduction (Dölger, Byzantine literature 206). See also the following passage from the section on poetry: "Poetry written in the *katharevousa* in artificial and archaic forms was doomed to wilt in the somewhat oppressive atmosphere of the capital.

following passage from the general introduction once again describes in a nutshell the immutability of classicism:[222]

> It was imperial and high ecclesiastical circles, vested with an authority emanating from the divinely appointed Emperor, which determined what could and what could not be permitted in literature. The result was an unwavering insistence on giving pride of place to form and a striving to emulate the style of classical models and to observe scrupulously a set of pedantic rules. In comparison with virtuosity in imitating classical models, no literary value was attached to originality of content, freedom of invention, or freedom in the choice of subject-matter, and in any case subject-matter was strictly limited by the narrow range of an uncompromising religious and political orthodoxy.

In fact, this passage, as most of the chapter's general introduction, has been taken directly from the 1948 overview which, again, had been taken from the 1938 essay.[223] It becomes obvious that Dölger's overall appreciation of Byzantine literature, as published in 1967, is essentially that of thirty years earlier. However, the structure of the 1948 plan is not followed in the CMH chapter. Here, Byzantine literature is divided into two parts, "I. Religious literature" (211–227) and "II. Secular literature" (227–262), two terms that Krumbacher had avoided in the GBL and the GLM. The second part is also divided into two parts, "Literature in the Katharevousa" and "Literature in the Demotic", while the former part is further divided into "Prose" and "Poetry in the Katharevousa". As noted, the chapter is preceded by a general introduction on Byzantine literature and concluded by a brief assessment of literary activity in Byzantium. This seemingly logical organization, which, moreover, gives the impresssion of following the structure of the GBL, is the fullest version of Dölger's hieratic model of Byzantine literature.

Four things stand out in the structure of this overview: (i) the complete separation of "religious" and "secular" production, and the inclusion of ecclesiastical history in religious literature, both choices deviating from the Krumbacher model; (ii) the inclusion of "religious" poetry (e. g. the *Christos Paschon*, the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, penitential/katanyctic poetry) and of "religious verse" (Synesios of Cyrene, Romanos, Sophronios of Jerusalem, George Pisides' *Hexaemeron*, Andrew of Crete, Symeon the New Theologian) in "secular" literature, a further deviation from Krumbacher; (iii) the use of the terms *katharevousa* and *demotic* to render the German "Reinsprache" and "Volkssprache", a regres-

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A less trammelled and more natural form of poetry grew up in the provinces, more precisely in Asia Minor and the islands of the southern Aegean" (ibid. 256).

222 ibid. 207.

223 The passage quoted above can be found in Dölger, Dichtung 9–10 (≈ Dölger, Klassizismus 42–43).

sion in respect to earlier English practice; (iv) the retaining of the division of poetry into “epic” and “lyric”.

It is easy to see that this structure fails to do justice to the complexity of Byzantine literature, while it has fully imposed Dölger’s hieratic model upon readers of the late Sixties. The chapter has also distanced itself from Krumbacher’s taxonomic approach in the GBL and synthetic approach in the GLM.[224] This cannot be a coincidence, given that by the late Fifties the successor project to the GBL in the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* had taken shape based, of course, on the plan of 1938/39 as described by Otto. On the one hand, Dölger had silently abandoned the original plan of contributing himself the volume on secular literature, and, on the other, Hans-Georg Beck (1910–1999) and Herbert Hunger (1914–2000) had been assigned by Herman Bengtson (1909–1989), then director of the *Handbuch*, to take over, breaking up the project in three distinct volumes that in their overall structure also reflected Dölger’s hieratic model of 1938 and 1948: *Church and Theological Literature in the Byzantine Empire, The Learned Secular Literature of the Byzantines, History of Byzantine Vernacular Literature*.[225] Thus, Dölger succeeded in introducing two antithetical pairs of non-existent or anachronistic categories to divide Byzantine literature. On the one hand, the antithesis “religious-secular” had no meaning for the Byzantines. The terms ἔξωθεν / θύραθεν σοφία / μαθήματα and ἔσωθεν / καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγοι refer specifically and distinctly to pagan letters (i. e. texts written by pagans) and to Christian writing in their chronological sequence, that is, pagan letters first, followed by Christian literature, as for example, Basil of Caesarea explains in his essay on the usefulness of Hellenic letters.[226] These terms do not describe two parts of a literary production written by Christians, in which the one part treats

224 In my opinion, the distancing from Krumbacher is also reflected in the fact, that in the 1967 overview, no reference is made to the GLM in the volume’s General Bibliography (CMH IV.2 398) nor in the General Works cited in the bibliography of Dölger’s contribution (ibid. 448–449).

225 H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.2.1. München 1959; H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.5.1–2. München 1978; H.-G. Beck, Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.2.3. München 1971.

226 *Ad adolescentes* § 2–3 (ed. and transl. F. Boulanger, Paris 1935; ed. and comm. N. G. Wilson, London 1975). See further references in A. M. Malingrey, Philosophia. *Études et commentaires*, 40. Paris 1961, 212–213; Al. Cameron / J. Long, Barbarians and politics at the court of Arcadius. *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 19. Berkeley 1993, 35–37; Al. Cameron, The last pagans of Rome. Oxford / New York 2011, 23 with reference to the respective Latin terms, such as *saecularis*.

"secular" subjects, while the other presents "religious" topics. Obviously, an educated Christian could or even should "possess both sorts of knowledge, secular (*qua* pagan) and divine (*qua* Christian)", as Theodoretos of Kyrrhos remarks in the fifth century about an educated bishop.[227] On the other hand, the antithesis "katharevousa–demotic" (*qua* "Reinsprache–Volkssprache") blatantly projects onto the remote Byzantine past a Modern Greek phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth century.[228]

Furthermore, Dölger's peculiar subdivision of Byzantine literature resulted in the absurd placement of "religious" poetry under "secular" literature. Even more absurd is the placement of *Christos Paschon*, a laboratory "drama" on the Passion of Christ composed in the twelfth century but ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzus,[229] or of ekphrastic epigrams under the heading "poetry of an epic character".[230] Dölger's reactionary approach and his demotion of Byzantine Philology as a discipline to an *ancilla historiae*, finds its culminating expression in the concluding paragraph of the chapter:[231]

> In assessing the place of Byzantine literature in the general context of medieval literature, it is clear that it almost entirely lacked such important literary genres as drama or genuine lyric poetry. But it is equally clear that it was a formative influence in the spirituality of the middle ages. [...] Grammarians and rhetoricians fully recognized the aesthetic, literary and historical value of the works of antiquity despite their pagan character. They toiled indefatigably to preserve and elucidate these, with the result that they remain available for us today, together with the commentaries which are still often indispensable to their understanding. Byzantine scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries faithfully passed on these texts and their commentaries to the humanists of the West. Thus the knowledge acquired from ancient Greece was saved from being submerged beneath Turkish domination and was able to make its contribution to the development of the renaissance in the West. Byzantine historiography had a long and distinguished tradition. Its works provide comparatively full information, on the whole objectively presented, about the Empire itself, and also about the history of neighbouring peoples and their relations with Byzantium.

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227 See *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* II 8 (PG 83, 393D–396 A): Φιρμιλιανὸς ὁ Καισαρέων τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐπίσκοπος, περιφανὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ γνῶσιν ἑκατέραν ἔχων, καὶ τὴν θύραθεν καὶ τὴν θείαν.

228 Agapitos, Krumbacher (as footnote 1 above) 6–8 and idem, Dangerous literary liaisons (as footnote 1 above) 35–51.

229 Hunger, Profanliteratur II, 104.

230 Dölger, Byzantine Literature 249 (*Christos Paschon*) and 250 (ekphrastic epigrams). For a substantial reassessment of this type of poems see Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry (as footnote 195 above) I, 149–196 and II, 57–76 (from a philological point of view) and I. Drpić, Epigram, art and devotion in later Byzantium. Cambridge 2016, 118–185 (from an art historical perspective).

231 Ibid. 262–263.

> And in conclusion, Byzantium added much to the rich store of medieval European folk tales, for it was the great clearing house of East and West.

Byzantine literature is important to study because it was useful to something or someone else. Thus, grammarians and rhetoricians were useful for preserving ancient Greek literature, scholars were useful for transferring this patrimony to the West, Byzantine narratives were useful for transporting folk tales from East to West and *vice versa*, Byzantine religious literature contributed to medieval spirituality, historiography is useful in providing on the whole full and objective information for the study of Byzantium and its neighbouring people. This is a rather gloomy image of a literary production that has little to offer to its own times and to the modern world, while its texts can be so nicely placed in separate, clearly defined boxes.

From our perspective of fifty years later, Dölger's chapter has lost its force. But when it appeared in 1967 it was the only readily available longer overview of Byzantine literature, exercising a strong influence on the field of Byzantine Studies in the academic world. And when, forty years ago, Hunger's *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (= HPLB) with its stately 1080 pages appeared, Franz Dölger had succeeded in demoting Byzantine Philology and blocking the way to a historically appropriate but also modern understanding of Byzantine literature. For Hunger's handbook expressed the belief in the existence of such concepts as "learned" and "secular", while it also negated to Byzantine literature the right to have a "history". It was not entirely Hunger's fault, for he had accepted to take over in the late Fifties a concept that was already twenty years old and did his best to bring it to a conclusion, although he very well discerned that a number of difficulties were present in exactly those matters that Dölger viewed as axiomatic.[232] In the successor volumes to the GBL (themselves published over a period of twenty years) the taxonomically static compartmentalization of Byzantine literature and the cancellation of its history was more or less concluded.[233] If one is to judge from the overviews writ-

232 One needs only to read carefully the ambivalent preface he wrote (Hunger, Profanliteratur I, V–VII) to see how he did or did not feel comfortable with Dölger's conceptual legacy. The strategy he followed was to omit any reference to Dölger and present his handbook as the direct successor to Krumbacher's GBL, which is correct only for one third of the content.

233 For criticism of this fragmented and compartmentalized approach see A. Kazhdan, Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte. *JÖB* 28 (1979) 1–21; J.-L. van Dieten, Die byzantinische Literatur — eine Literatur ohne Geschichte. *Historische Zeitschrift* 231 (1980) 101–109; A. Kazhdan/G. Constable, People and power in Byzantium: an introduction to modern Byzantine Studies. Washington, D.C. 1982, 96–116 ("*Homo byzantinus* in the History

ten after Hunger's HPLB was published, the organization of the content by means of generic boxes and linguistic division was retained in all contributions up to the very end of the twentieth century.[234]

Some brief concluding remarks

It is only in this century that the first attempts have been made at moving away from Dölger's "gewisse Systematik" and its consequences.[235] Nevertheless, Byzantine Philology is far removed from having rejected the Krumbacher paradigm, let alone substituting it with a new holistic paradigm. Given the immense changes that took place in the first half of the twentieth century, more than hundred years is a very long time to begin changing the broader framework of Byzantine literary history in a discipline that only started officially in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the Fifties, when Byzantine Studies, stepping out of the Second World War, should have introduced a critical discussion about major epistemological changes in the field, most of the then leading Byzantinists were unwilling or even incapable to abandon the narrow and introvert perspective the field was adopting since the Thirties. Thus, a stronger connection to and fruitful dialogue with Medieval Studies, that had entered a deep process of trans-

of Literature and Art"); see also the more recent volume edited by ODORICO/AGAPITOS (as footnote 196 above).

234 See, indicatively, H. HUNGER, Byzantinische Literatur. *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 2 (1983) 1182–1204; R. BROWNING/M.J. JEFFREYS, Byzantine literature. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 2 (1983) 505–525; AERTS, Panorama (as footnote 3 above); KAMBYLIS, Abriß (as footnote 3 above).

235 J.O. ROSENQVIST, Die byzantinische Literatur vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453, übersetzt von J.O. ROSENQVIST und D.R. REINSCH. Berlin 2007 (originally published in Swedish in 2003; the German translation includes slight revisions and additional bibliography); see, furthermore, the overviews by D.R. REINSCH, Byzantinische Literatur – Tradition und Innovation, in Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Bonn, Februar–Juni 2010). Bonn/München 2010, 56–61; C. CUPANE, Literatur (§ 12.2), in F. Daim (ed.), Byzanz: Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch. *Der Neue Pauly: Supplemente*, 11. Stuttgart 2016, 930–971; A. RHOBY, Der byzantinische Literaturhorizont. Griechische Literatur vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert und ihr Kontext. Version: 1.0, in Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (ed.), Online-Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas. Band: Sprache und Kultur in Südosteuropa bis 1800. Regensburg 2018 (http://hgsoe.ios-regensburg.de/themen/herrschaft-und-politik.html). In these publications attempts have been made to cross the various boundaries, though in many respects the conventional boundaries and generic divisions have remained.

formation, did not take place,[236] while grave decisions were made in the various official bodies of the field to promote grand projects (for example, the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*) that further inculcated a distorted version of the Krumbacher paradigm.

As the present paper tried to show, Franz Dölger was crucial in putting a hold to a regenerative change in Byzantine Philology, especially in Germany. The core of Dölger's attitude has to be sought in his world view that had taken shape during the reign of Wilhelm II (1888 – 1918) and his vision of a new and grand military German empire. In many respects Dölger's Byzantium was quite Wilhelminian – a vast military nation state with a perfectly functioning and fully structured bureaucratic system of administration, gilded by a mystical notion of empire and strengthened by a hierarchic concept of power defining religion, politics, society and culture. This view helped Dölger to approach through his old Munich connections the Nazi regime in order to benefit from a potential cooperation. Dölger probably believed that he was offering his good services to Byzantine Studies by using the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg so as to find himself at the right time and the right place to pursue unobstructed his study of Byzantine documents on Mount Athos.

Concommitantly, it is not surprising that Dölger's *Weltanschauung* led him to espouse rigid formalism as his main tool for conducting research and setting axiomatic frameworks for the solution of various theoretical and practical issues. This rigid formalism expressed itself in the way he analysed texts (for example, the mechanical detection of supposed sources in Meliteniotes' poem or the uncritical use of an immense word index to prove or disprove the authorship of John of Damascus for various texts), in the way he laboriously compiled catalogues, and in the way he developed a taxonomic system for defining and describing Byzantine documents. In this sense, Dölger's "gewisse Systematik" led him to view Byzantine culture as an abstract and static entity, rather than as a concrete and dynamic historical phenomenon. He therefore exaggerated or sometimes even misunderstood Krumbacher's proposals since, quite surprisingly, he read him through the works of Karl Dieterich. In my opinion, Dölger had a latent competitive attitude to Krumbacher, both because he felt the *Ehrenpflicht* of completing all that the founder of Byzantine Studies had left unfinished in order to surpass him and establish himself as the most important Byzantinist

236 For some thoughts on this and other questions concerning the (non-)place of Byzantium in a broader history of the Middle Ages see Av. Cameron, Thinking with Byzantium. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (2011) 39 – 57, as well as eadem, Byzantine matters. Princeton 2014, 7 – 25, though I find myself in disagreement with some of the author's generalizing points about Byzantine literature.

of his time, but also because he viewed him as politically liberal in a manner that went against his own Wilhelminian world view of a militarist and monarchist world.

Thus, Dölger systematically demoted "Philology" and attempted to shift the direction of research at the Mittel- und Neugriechisches Seminar towards "History", stylizing himself as a historian and restricting philological work to very specific tasks of an auxiliary character. For him Byzantine Philology was only a strict technique of editing texts, analyzing their language, detecting their sources, establishing their date and authorship in order to provide useful material for the serious study of Byzantine History.[237] As a result, the divide between the activities of the textual and the literary critic widened, while Byzantine Philology lost much of its original character of a field devoted to editing, commenting *and* interpreting texts.[238]

The demotion of Byzantine Philology certainly was Dölger's greatest scholarly error but it was also a major strategical mistake in the way Byzantine Studies were to develop in Germany and other European countries. It has taken decades after 1950 for younger generations of scholars to begin approaching Medieval Greek texts as an integral part of Byzantine culture, the study of which can contribute to a fuller understanding of Byzantium as a historical phenomenon embedded in a broader medieval context. Moreover, Dölger's insistence on classicism as a central aspect of Medieval Greek textuality, connected with his notion of the mystical/hierarchic state, caused no small harm to an appropriate interpretation of Byzantine literature and its history. In particular, the insistent and rigid division of this vast literary heritage into categories and subcategories completely foreign to its cultural context of production and reception bore a direct impact on the form and content of the three volumes on literature of the *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, while Dölger's classicist *Quellenforschung* is still haunting the minds of many young scholars working as textual or literary critics with Byzantine texts. Therefore, it is imperative to rethink the role and place of Byzantine Philology within Byzantine Studies. For only then can a new paradigm be introduced that will serve the study of Byzantine literature and its history in a

237 It is instructive to see the interview Dölger gave in 1966 to the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film on the occasion of the publication of the final volume of the *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* (https://av.tib.eu/media/21358, accessed on 28–08–2018). The three key adjectives that run through the eight minutes of the film are "diszipliniert", "systematisch" and "streng".

238 For some pertinent thoughts from two Medievalists see H.U. GUMBRECHT, The power of philology: the dynamics of textual criticism. Champaign, IL 2003 and S. KAY, Philology's vomit: an essay on the immortality and corporeality of texts. *Mediävistische Perspektiven*, 5. Zürich 2017.

manner appropriate to a vision attuned to the needs of the twenty-first century, wherein the creative enthusiasm for Byzantine texts will be judiciously combined with the critical knowledge of the field's complex past.

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Phil Booth

The ghost of Maurice at the court of Heraclius

Abstract: This paper explores the complex reception of the reign of Maurice (582–602) at the court of Heraclius (610–641). It explores how the reign of Maurice established two important precedents for Heraclius as he emerged from the Last Great War: first, the re-establishment, after a long hiatus, of the principle of filial succession; and second, the realisation of a profound, co-operative peace with the Persians. It then argues, however, that Heraclian authors – in particular Theophylact Simocatta – resisted the sanctification of the murdered emperor, framing him instead as, ultimately, a failure, suggesting that he had deserved and accepted his death, and insisting that he had surrendered all of his children, including his son and co-emperor Theodosius, to the same fate. Thus the reign of Maurice was presented not as an apex from which his successors had fallen, but as a pale foreshadowing of the early triumphs of Heraclius.

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Introduction

In July 629, the Roman emperor Heraclius met the Persian spahbad Shahrbaraz in Cappadocia to negotiate a peace – an end to that grand war which had raged since 603, and which had witnessed, in short succession, such spectacular events as the Persian sack of Jerusalem (614), the Persian-Avar siege of Constantinople (626), and a Roman alliance with the western Gök Turks (627).[1] Historians of these dramatic decades have often celebrated the role of Heraclius in reversing Roman fortunes, pointing to the unprecedented campaigns which the emperor led within the Transcaucasus and Northern Mesopotamia in the period 622–

I would like to thank Michael Whitby, Vivien Prigent, and Marek Jankowiak for their comments on and criticisms of an earlier draft.

1 For the meeting: Anonymous Chronicle to 724, ed. E. W. Brooks, Chronica minora II. *CSCO*, 3, *Scriptores syriaci*, 3. Paris 1960, 75–156, at 147.

628, and the subsequent collapse of Khusrau's regime, and his assassination, as enemies drew ever closer to Ctesiphon. But in 628, the Roman triumph was far from a *fait accompli*. For despite the succession of a more subservient shahanshah within the Persian capital, Rome's former eastern provinces – in particular its most precious resource, Egypt – remained under Persian occupation, with the formidable figure of Shahrbaraz still ensconced at Alexandria.[2]

It seems that at some point in or soon after 626, Shahrbaraz had become estranged from the Sasanian regime at Ctesiphon. Although the sources disagree as to whether he or Heraclius was the sponsor of the rendezvous,[3] in June 629 Shahrbaraz abandoned Alexandria and made for Cappadocia.[4] The details of the subsequent peace with Heraclius are not recorded but can be surmised from subsequent events: Shahrbaraz, for his part, would withdraw from former Roman territories and return the Cross (and perhaps also the Sponge and Lance) removed from Jerusalem after the Persian assault in 614;[5] while the emperor, for his, would support Shahrbaraz's march on the Persian capital, and his establishment as regent to the infant Ardashir.[6] The agreement was soon celebrated with three significant acts: first, the elevation of both Shahrbaraz and his son Nicetas, a Christian, to the status of *patrikios*;[7] second, the marriage of Shahrbaraz's daughter Nike to Heraclius's infant son;[8] and third, the construction of a church to Peace at the site of the conference itself.[9] It was, for Heraclius, a spectacular diplomatic triumph, and the true crescendo of the Last Great War.

The precise venue for the conference in Cappadocia has passed without comment in modern literature, but contemporaries cannot have missed the asso-

2 Ps.-Sebēos, History 40, ed. G. Abgaryan, Patmut'iwn Sebēosi. Erevan 1979, 129.

3 For the sources and their problems see P. Booth, Crisis of empire: doctrine and dissent at the end of late antiquity. Berkeley, CA 2014, 156 note 70. For the position of Shahrbaraz, C. Mango, Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide. *TM* 9 (1985) 91–117, at 106–109.

4 The date is given in Anonymous Chronicle to 724 (Brooks 146).

5 On the various traditions around the return of the Cross to Roman hands, see B. Flusin, Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle. 2 vol., Paris 1992, II 295–297. For the Sponge and Lance see Paschal Chronicle ed. L. Dindorf, Chronicon Paschale. Bonn 1832, 705, with H. A. Klein, Niketas und das wahre Kreuz: Kritische Anmerkungen zur Überlieferung des Chronicon Paschale ad annum 614. *BZ* 94 (2001) 580–587, who makes a cogent case for moving the notice from 614 to 629.

6 For the sources see Booth, Crisis (as footnote 3 above) 156–157, with notes 71–73.

7 For Shahrbaraz: Anonymous Chronicle to 724 (Brooks 147). For Nicetas: Nicephorus, Short History 17, ed. and trans. C. Mango, Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History. *CFHB*, 13. Washington, DC 1990, 64; Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 705), describing 629 (as per note 5 above).

8 See Nicephorus, Short History 17. Cf. PLRE III Theodosius 44.

9 Anonymous Chronicle to 724 (Brooks 139, 147).

ciation. For the two great generals met at Arabissus Tripotamus, an otherwise obscure and remote location with one recent claim to fame – it had been the birthplace of the emperor Maurice, whose murder at the hands of the usurper Phocas had been, for his counterpart and protégé Khusrau, the ostensible *casus belli*.[10] At the beginning of his reign, the otherwise parsimonious Maurice is said to have stoked some not insignificant resentment when he adorned Arabissus with a range of new amenities – a magnificent church, a hospice, a townhall, porticoes, basilicas, a palace, and a wall – and then to have rebuilt them following an earthquake.[11] It is tempting to suppose, then, that Shahrbaraz and Heraclius met not only in a place with profound associations with Maurice; but also in a building which the murdered emperor had commissioned.

There is little chance that the choice of venue, which was no doubt inconvenient for both parties, was coincidental. Rather, the conference in Cappadocia speaks to the ongoing importance of Maurice to the Heraclian court, and to one aspect of the multifaceted reception of his reign amidst that court's historians. In recent contributions, our comprehension of Heraclius's ideological programme both before and after the Last Great War has grown ever more sophisticated: in its construction, during, of an existential conflict between (Roman) Christians and (pagan) Persians;[12] in its flirtation, afterwards, with cosmological and eschatological themes of restoration;[13] and in its attempts, throughout, to delegitimise Phocas, whom Heraclius himself had usurped.[14] No student of Phocas' reign

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10 For Maurice's origin: Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 5.19, ed. J. Bidez / L. Parmentier, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius. London 1898, 214; implied also in Eustratius Presbyter, Life of Eutychius 1908 – 10, ed. C. Laga, Eustratii presbyteri Vita Eutychii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani. *CC*, 25. Turnhout 1992, 61 – 62. Cf. Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.21, ed. J.-B. Chabot. Paris 1899 – 1910, IV 379; Chronicle to 1234, 76, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Chronicon anonymum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens. *CSCO*, 81 – 82. *Scriptores syriaci*, 36 – 37. Louvain 1916 – 20. See also D. Feissel, Trois notes sur l'empereur Maurice, in: Mélanges Cécile Morrisson. *TM* 16 (2010) 253 – 272, at 253 – 258. Later Armenian legend would dispute these origins, but also acknowledge the claim of Arabissus; see N. Adontz, Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance. Études Armèno-byzantines. Lisbon 1965, 125 – 136, esp. 127.
11 See John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.5.22 – 23, ed. E.W. Brooks, Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia. Louvain 1952, I 273 – 275; cf. Michael the Great, Chronicle (Chabot IV 379).
12 E.g. Y. Stoyanov, Defenders and enemies of the True Cross: the Sasanian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 and Byzantine ideology of anti-Persian warfare. *Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik*, 61. Vienna 2011, esp. 45 – 75.
13 E.g. H.J.W. Drijvers, Heraclius and the Restitutio Crucis: notes on symbolism and ideology, in G.J. Reinink / B.H. Stolte (eds.), The reign of Heraclius (610 – 641): crisis and confrontation. *Groningen studies in cultural change*, 2. Leuven 2002, 175 – 190.
14 E.g. M. Meier, Kaiser Phokas (602 – 610) als Erinnerungsproblem. *BZ* 107 (2014) 139 – 174.

would now accept without criticism the construction of it contained within Heraclian texts. But our appreciation of simultaneous constructions of the reign of Maurice is rather less developed, and historians continue to accept such constructions without due caution.[15] When these constructions have been recognised, it has most often been suggested that Heraclian authors sanctified Maurice in order to create a foil for Phocas, and thus to legitimise the latter's usurpation.[16] But the portrait of Maurice which the emperor and his entourage promoted was in fact far more complex and kaleidoscopic.[17] For Heraclius and his court, the reign of Maurice presented two precedents which could not be discarded: first, the revival of the principle of filial succession, through the elevation and celebration of Maurice's son Theodosius; and, second, the remarkable period of peace and co-operation established with the Persian court, following the flight and restoration of Khusrau II. But Heraclian historians also attempted to delegitimise Maurice and his son, representing the former not as a saint but as a failed forerunner of Heraclius, an emperor who had aspired to, but fallen from, the same dynastic rights and co-operative principles so trumpeted in the contemporaneous peace at Arabissus. The true foil for Maurice, therefore, was not Phocas; it was Heraclius.

Born in the purple

The reign of Maurice had begun full of promise. On 4th August 583, a son was born to the new emperor and his wife Constantina, daughter of the emperor Tiberius.[18] The event was a cause for ebullient celebration. The circus factions,

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15 For a recent example: R. Pfeilschifter, Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel: Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in einer spätantiken Metropole. *Millennium Studies*, 44. Berlin 2013, 252 – 293, esp. 261 with note 21.

16 See e. g. D. Olster, The politics of usurpation in the seventh century: rhetoric and revolution in Byzantium. Amsterdam 1993, 1 – 2.

17 For aspects of this ambiguous portrait (which I here expand and attempt to place in context) see the excellent S. Efthymiadis, A historian and his tragic hero: a literary reading of Theophylact Simocatta's Ecumencial History, in R. J. Macrides (ed.), History as literature in Byzantium. Farnham 2010, 169 – 186, who moves towards reading the text as a complex 'mirror of princes' for Heraclius (cf. also Meier, Kaiser Phokas, as footnote 14 above, 164 – 165).

18 For the date: John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.5.14. Same date in Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.21 (Chabot IV 378); cf. Bar Hebraeus, Chronicle, ed. E.W. Budge, The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj. Oxford 1932, II 90, giving Maurice 1. This date is preferable to that in Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6077 and 6082, ed. C. de Boor, Theophanis Chronographia. Leipzig 1883, which suggests he was born in August 585. The latter is improbable due to the

we are told, competed to name the child, the Blues calling for 'Justinian' (after Justinian I, a Blue), and the Greens for Theodosius (after Theodosius II, a Green).[19] The name 'Theodosius' prevailed. According to John of Ephesus, the name was indeed chosen in imitation of Theodosius II, not however for his preference in the circus, but rather for the fact that he had been the last son born in the purple.[20] For almost two centuries no son had succeeded his father upon the throne of the Romans – since, in fact, the emperors had adopted Chalcedon, as some of its opponents were wont to point out.[21] But now that curse had, it seemed, been lifted. Soon after the birth, at some point between September 583 and August 584, an acclamation painted on the walls of the tepidarium within the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias sums up the reaction of at least some provincials: 'The fortune of the emperor triumphs! The fortune of the empress triumphs! Many years for the new Theodosius!'[22]

Theodosius was soon baptised with great pomp at Constantinople, a first step towards his integration within the wider rhythms of Roman liturgical life. It is possible that no less a figure than the future Roman pope was his godfather, for Gregory of Tours informs us that Gregory the Great, upon his election, wrote a letter of refusal 'to the emperor Maurice, whose son he had taken from the holy font (*cuius filium ex lavacro sancto suspicerat*)'.[23] Since Gregory left his role of papal *apocrisiarius* in the capital at some point between October 584 and Decem-

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explicit reference to him in Epistolae Austrasiacae 44, ed. E. MALASPINA, Il Liber epistolarum della cancellaria austrasiaca (sec. V–VI). *Biblioteca di Cultura Romanobarbarica*, 4. Rome 2001 208, sent from the Merovingian queen Brunhild to Constantina in late 585. I am grateful to Vivien Prigent for this point.

19 See the scholion in Vat. Gr. 977 f.184v and 152 f.141r., published in Y. JANSSENS, Les Bleus et les Verts sous Maurice, Phocas et Héraclius. *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 499–536, at 500. FEISSEL, Trois notes (as footnote 10 above) 264–265 sees in the proposal of 'Justinian' an act of conciliation towards the Justinianic line represented in Germanus, Maurice's rival and Theodosius's future father-in-law.

20 John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.5.14.

21 See Severus of Antioch, Letters 55, ed. E.W. BROOKS, A collection of letters from Severus of Antioch, from numerous Syriac manuscripts. Letters I to LXI. *PO*, 12. Paris 1919, 334; repeated in John of Nikiu, Chronicle 116, 121, ed. H. ZOTENBERG, Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou. Paris 1883, 204–205.

22 Ed. C. ROUECHÉ, Aphrodisias in late antiquity. London 1989, no. 61.i, with G. DAGRON, Nés dans la poupre. *TM* 12 (1994) 105–142, at 111. Feissel, Trois notes (as footnote 10 above) 265–266 convincingly reconstructs a second indiction in another of the three medallions in which the acclamation also features.

23 Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks 10.1, ed. B. KRUSCH / W. LEVISON, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 1.1: Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Libri Historiarum X. Hanover 1951, 478 (and cf. Paul the Deacon, Life of Gregory the Great 10, *PL* 75, 45B).

ber 587,[24] this son is perhaps to be identified with Theodosius, rather than a younger brother,[25] although Gregory of Tours is our only source for the claim.[26] The date of the baptism is uncertain, but it has been suggested that it occurred at Epiphany (6th January) 584, and that a medallion now held at Dumbarton Oaks commemorates the occasion. On the obverse this medallion has an enthroned Virgin and child and an elaborate Nativity scene (and the inscription, 'Christ, our God, help us'); while the reverse depicts the Baptism of Christ, with the inscription, 'This is my son, with whom I am well-pleased' (Matt. 3:17).[27] The medallion once belonged to a larger treasure discovered near Kyrenia on Cyprus in *c.*1900, which contained numerous gold and silver objects of Constantinopolitan provenance. This treasure included a famous gold girdle, now in the Metropolitan Museum, and comprised of solidi of Theodosius II, Justin/Justinian, and Maurice. It also integrates some remarkable consular medallions of Maurice, in all likelihood produced for his first consulship (which began on 25th December 583).[28] Close technical and stylistic similarities between the consular medallions and that depicting Christ's baptism suggest that both were produced within the

24 Terminus ante quem and terminus post quem provided in P. Ewald / L.M. Hartmann, Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum, tomus II. *MGH Epistolae*, 2. Berlin 1899, 437 – 439 (a donation of Gregory to his own Monastery of St Andrew, dated 28.xii.587); 440 – 441 (a letter from Pelagius II to Gregory in Constantinople, dated 5.x.584).

25 The Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 693 – 694) names five sons besides the eldest Theodosius; see the subsequent note, but their precise dates of birth are not known.

26 The idea is nevertheless embedded in modern literature; see e.g. M. Whitby, The Emperor Maurice and his historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan warfare. Oxford 1988, 18. There is good reason, however, to be cautious. Despite his rich correspondence with Maurice's court, Gregory nowhere explicitly mentions Theodosius or another imperial child, and later welcomed Phocas' coup in strikingly effusive terms; see Letters 13.32, ed. D. Norberg, S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri I–VII. *CCSL*, 140 – 140a. Turnhout 1982, 1033 – 1034. An independent Latin narrative, moreover, reports that Gregory placed an official icon of Phocas and Leontia in the Lateran, at the time when 'Maurice was killed along with all his male children, that is, Theodosius the already crowned (*Theodosio iam coronato*), Tiberius, Peter, Paul, and Justinian …' (Appendix VIII, ibid. II 1101). The same text also reports the death of Maurice's brother Peter, Constantine Lardys, and the imperial notarios George. The list is not dissimilar to that in Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 694), which has Theodosius, Peter, Justin, and Justinian, omitting Paul (but cf. ibid. 693) and has the patrician and magister militum Comentiolus in place of George. Both perhaps draw from an official notice, with the sons listed in chronological order (so Feissel, Trois notes, as footnote 10 above, 266).

27 See M.C. Ross, A Byzantine gold medallion at Dumbarton Oaks. *DOP* 11 (1957) 247 – 261.

28 Consular medallions: P. Grierson, The Kyrenia girdle of Byzantine medallions and solidi. *Numismatic Chronicle* 15 (1955) 55 – 70. First consulship: Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6076; cf. Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 691).

imperial mint at around the same time. An obvious context for the Dumbarton Oaks medallion – with its scenes of birth and baptism, and its paternal inscription from Matthew – would be the baptism of Theodosius.[29]

For contemporaries, Theodosius's birth meant more than the silencing of anti-Chalcedonian polemicists. For now, John of Ephesus reports, the imperial aspirations of ambitious but undeserving men were curtailed, and members of the elite instead competed to surpass each other's gifts for the infant.[30] For some observers, therefore, Theodosius's birth promised a period of peace for the empire. So it was that in 593/4 Evagrius Scholasticus – who seems to have composed an encomium on Theodosius's birth, and to have received the dignity of prefect as a result – ended his entire, six-book *Ecclesiastical History* with the concluding sentiment that, for Maurice, that birth provided 'a foretaste of every happiness for him and for the state.'[31]

While still a child Theodosius was co-opted into the imperial college. By 587 he had been proclaimed Caesar,[32] and at Easter in 590 (the 26th March) he was elevated to the rank of Augustus.[33] Our best source for that event, the *Paschal Chronicle*, continues to note that it 'was not posted in the records, and none of the other actions of imperial recognition was performed in his case, except only the coronation.'[34] That the new emperor 'was not posted in the records' means Theodosius's absence from official regnal formulae, for he does not appear in those produced within the *Paschal Chronicle*,[35] in diplomatic letters from the capital,[36] and in contemporaneous documents from Egypt, Palestine,

29 See P. Grierson, The date of the Dumbarton Oaks Epiphany medallion. *DOP* 15 (1961) 221–224.

30 John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.5.14.

31 Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.24: 'Maurice Tiberius sent me prefectural diptychs for what we composed at the time when he freed the empire from the disgrace and brought Theodosius into the light, providing a foretaste of every happiness for himself and for the state' (trans. M. Whitby, The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus. Liverpool 2000, 317).

32 John of Biclar, Chronicle, ed. T. Mommsen, Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII, Vol. II. *MGH*, 11. Berlin 1894, 211–220, at 217 (under Maurice 5): *Mauricius Theodosium filium suum ex filia Tiberi imperatoris natum Caesarem facit.*

33 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 691); cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6082. John of Biclar, Chronicle (Mommsen 218) places the same event in Maurice 6 (= 587/88). A date between 586 and 592 is implied in Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.23 (assuming the patriarchal coronation described is as Augustus).

34 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 691).

35 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 691–693); cf. the entries on Heraclius Constantine at ibid. (Dindorf 704–727).

36 See the letter of 591 from Maurice to Gregory the Great, ed. P. Ewald / L.M. Hartmann, Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum Tomus I. *MGH Epistolae*, 1. Berlin 1891, 21–23 (as

and Italy.[37] Nevertheless, some contemporaries could still regard him as co-emperor proper: thus a Cilician inscription of 596, dedicating a church, proclaims Theodosius as emperor alongside his father (ἐπὶ τῶν γαλινοτάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων ἡμõν βασιλέων Μαυρικίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ);[38] while the *acta* of a Roman council of 5th July 595 (Maurice 13, indiction 13) have the incipit, *Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Iesu Christo, temporibus piissimi ac serenissimi domini Mauricii Tiberii et Theodosii Augustorum* ... (but note that Theodosius is here denied the title *dominus*).[39]

It is evident that Theodosius assumed a central role in the regime's official propaganda. Although he is otherwise absent from Maurice's gold coins, he features on at least one solidus of which the authenticity is uncertain.[40] This bears on the obverse a bust of a beardless, cuirassed man with a plumed helmet and globus cruciger. Above his head is the inscription DNTEODO-SIVSPPANA. On the obverse is a standing angel, holding a long staff mounted with a chi-rho in one hand, and a globus cruciger in the other. Above the angel is the inscription VICTORI-AAVGGA. The coin is almost identical to a solidus of Maurice produced at Carthage, for which the final letters of the inscriptions have been shown to be (for the period from 582/3 – 596/7, when the two coincide) the regnal year and indiction; and, thereafter, the indiction alone.[41] We can therefore read our obverse

16b), at 22. Cf. also the petition of the bishops of Raetia Secunda in 591 to Maurice, ed. E. Schwartz, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum II. *ACO, ser. 1*, 4/2. Berlin 1914, 132 – 135, at 132.

37 For Maurice's (complex) regnal and consular/post-consular formulae in Egypt see R. S. Bagnall / K. A. Worp, Chronological systems of Byzantine Egypt. [2]Leiden 2004, 50 – 52, 260 – 265. For examples from elsewhere, with Theodosius also absent: P.Ness. III 29 (Elusa, 590); P.Ness. III 30 (Nessana, 596); P.Ital. II 37 = P.Marini 122 (Ravenna, 591).

38 See I. Cilicie no. 118 = SEG 37, no. 1261 (ind. 14). Cf. Theodosius's absence in the (now lost) funerary inscription from Albenga (dated 13.iv.597) in *Supplementa italica* 4 (1988) 277 no. 32 = AÉp 1937 no. 219.

39 Ed. Ewald/Hartmann, Registrum 362 – 367 (as 5.57a), at 362.

40 SB 141 no. 613 = H. J. Berk, Roman gold coins of the medieval world 393 – 1453. London 1986, no. 95. The coin is dismissed definitively as a forgery in W. Hahn, Zur Münzprägung des frühbyzantinischen Reiches: Anastasius I. bis Phocas und Heraclius-Revolte, 491 – 610. Vienna 2005, 175 note 6; but cf. W. Hahn / M. Metlich, Money of the incipient Byzantine empire continued. *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik Wien*, 13. Vienna 2009, 49 note 118, where it is instead 'very doubtful'.

41 See P. Grierson, Dated solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius. *Numismatic Chronicle* 10 (1950) 49 – 70, at 51 – 57, 63 – 66. For examples: A. R. Bellinger / P. Grierson, Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, I. Washington, DC 1968, 353 – 355 nos 215 – 233; C. Morrisson, Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale. Paris 1970, I 200 – 202. See also Hahn/Metlich, Money, ibid. 48 – 49.

inscription as 'Dominus Noster Theodosius Perpetuus Augustus Anno 1'; and the reverse as 'Victoria Augustorum 1'. Thus we have indiction 1 on the reverse (582/3, 597/8, 612/3), and either regnal year 1 or indiction 1 on the obverse. It is tempting to associate the coin, which must also come from Carthage, with Theodosius's birth, and to consider it as a special issue designed to celebrate that event. But in this case it would have to belong to the brief period 4th–31st August 583 – that is, between Theodosius's birth and the end of the first indiction – and we are left with the inconvenient facts that Theodosius is not depicted as an infant or child, and is described both as *dominus* and (co-)*augustus*. This seems impossible, and our sole option is to conclude that the coin was produced in 597/8, and that the terminal letters of both inscriptions refer to the indiction.

Whether our solidus is genuine or not, Theodosius's importance to ideological projections of the regime is demonstrated through his appearance on some special silver and bronze issues of provincial mints. In silver, a series of half and third siliquae produced at Carthage after 590 present him, beardless, with cuirass and either a crown or plumed helmet – the inscription above reads DNTEO-DO-SIVSPPAV; the reverse bears either a cross with two crowned figures, male and female, who must be Maurice and Constantina; or, for the third siliqua, the weight (NM/CC). On a half siliqua produced after 597, however, we find on the reverse the simple pious inscription AME/NITA/SDEI.[42] Theodosius and his parents perhaps appear together on a follis and half-follis of the Cherson mint. These present, on the obverse, two standing figures – crowned and in imperial dress – who must again be Maurice and Constantina; and, on the reverse, an image of a smaller standing figure, also crowned and perhaps their eldest son.[43] If the figure is indeed Theodosius, then the coins from Cherson should date to the period 590 – 602.[44]

We can assume, then, that when at the end of 585 the Merovingian king Childebert II – in a letter concerning the return to his protection of a nephew in Constantinople – petitioned Theodosius himself to intercede with his father

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42 See e. g. W.W. Wroth, Catalogue of the imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum. London 1908, I 159 – 160 nos 293 – 295; Bellinger/Grierson, Catalogue, ibid. I 376 nos 305 – 308; Morrisson, Catalogue, ibid. I 203 – 204. See also Hahn/Metlich, Money, ibid. I 52 (with the dates), 144; II Maurice 59a–b, 60, 62.

43 See e. g. Wroth, Catalogue, ibid. I 158 – 159, nos 289 – 292; Bellinger/Grierson, Catalogue, ibid. 373 – 375 nos 297 – 303; BNC vol. 1 214 – 215. See also Hahn/Metlich, Money, ibid. I 59, 173, vol. 2 Maurice 157a–160b.

44 Pace the tantalising suggestion that the 'family coinage' in Carthage and Cherson might have been produced after Maurice's death, and in light of rumours of Theodosius's survival; see e. g. P. Grierson, Byzantine coins. London 1982, 45.

'until you yourself happily succeed to the rule (*donec vos ipsi feliciter succedatis in regnum*)', he was not only flattering his recipient but expressing an expectation which stretched well beyond the empire's borders.[45] Contemporaries cannot have doubted that Maurice would establish a son as successor – for even if Theodosius were to die before his father, there were soon five other sons (as well as three, perhaps four, daughters) to take his place as heir.[46] But we should remember that no imperial son had succeeded for two centuries and, although the principle of filial succession was no doubt accepted as legitimate and even pre-eminent, it could never exclude those diverse other routes through which a private individual could accede to, or claim, the throne. The succession of Theodosius, therefore, could not be assumed, but was instead in need of constant reaffirmation via a complex set of rituals and representations through which he was ingratiated as the son not of the emperor, but rather of the empire at large.[47]

The supplicant son

It is perhaps not coincidental that Theodosius's elevation to the rank of Augustus, at Easter 590, occurred as news of a significant rebellion against the Persian ruling house first began to filter across the eastern frontier. Let us remind ourselves, in brief, of subsequent events.[48] In late 589 the general Bahram Shubin rebelled against the shahanshah Hormizd IV, and then refused to recognise his son and successor Khusrau II. Following the defeat of his forces, Khusrau then fled along the Euphrates, and from within Roman territories, supplicated

45 Epistolae Austrasiacae 43 (MALASPINA 206, with 297–298 note 827 for the date.
46 For the sons see above note 26 and for the daughters below note 115. Maurice's reproductive prowess was even ribbed in popular song; see Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 317 (= De ins. 107) ed. U. ROBERTO, Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex historia chronica. *TU*, 154. Berlin 2005, 317; Theophanes, Chronographia 6093.
47 Cf. G. DAGRON, Empereur et prêtre: Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin. Paris 1996, 33–73.
48 The most important sources for Khusrau's deposition and flight to Roman territories are Theophylact, History 4.1–14, ed. C. DE BOOR / P. WIRTH, Theophylacti Simocattae historiae. Stuttgart 1972, 149–181, and Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.15–18. Both authors perhaps depend here on the lost History of John of Epiphania, of which a single fragment survives (ed. L. DINDORF, Historici graeci minores I. Leipzig 1870, 375–382) and which seems to have culminated in Khusrau's flight and restoration; see T. OLAJOS, Les sources de Théophylacte Simocatta historien. Leiden 1988, 14–66; cf. WHITBY, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 222–233. For a fuller account of Bahram's revolt and Khusrau's restoration see ibid. 292–304; also P. RIEDLBERGER, Die Restauration von Chosroes II. *Electrum* 2 (1998) 161–175.

Maurice for support, offering various territorial concessions in return, in particular in Armenia. In late 590, Maurice dispatched a large loan of monies, a force of soldiers, and an imperial retinue to assist in the restoration. In spring 591 Khusrau, along with the new *magister militum* Narses (to whom we shall return), entered into Dara, and thence the allied forces marched into Persia and inflicted a crushing defeat on Bahram. With the Sasanian line restored, Khusrau then fulfilled his promises to Maurice, and henceforth a profound peace reigned – in the 590s confidence was such that Maurice moved soldiers from the eastern frontier to the Balkans;[49] and when trouble presented itself in Armenia, the Roman and Persian regimes could even collaborate.[50]

Multiple sources claim that in his initial appeal to Maurice, Khusrau had posed as the Roman emperor's son, and this filial stance seems then to have been maintained throughout the subsequent decade.[51] Indeed, there is some suggestion that the agreement reached between Maurice and Khusrau in 590 involved the formal ritual of *teknopoiēsis*, so that the former became the 'father' of the latter.[52] Some later sources in Armenian, Latin, and Arabic go further, supposing that Khusrau had been baptised, either in Antioch or in Constantinople.[53]

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49 See Whitby, Emperor Maurice 156 – 165.

50 Ps.-Sebēos, History 15 – 16 (Abgaryan 86 – 88).

51 For the language of sonship in the initial appeal see esp. Theophylact, History 4.10.1 – 3, 5.3.11; Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.17; also Ps.-Sebēos, History 11 (Abgaryan 76); Chronicle to 1234, 81; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.23; Bar Hebraeus, Chronography (Budge 92); Agapius, Universal History, ed. A. A. Vasiliev, Kitab al-'Unvan: Histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius de Menbidj, III. *PO*, 8.3. Paris 1912, 443 – 445. For the maintenance of that stance: Chronicle of Seert 58, ed. A. Scher, Histoire Nestorienne: Chronique de Séert. *PO*, 13.4. Paris 1919, 465 – 466; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.24.

52 See Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6081 (de Boor 265 – 266). Cf. also the Armenian Anonymous Chronicle, trans. J. Markwart, in A. Bauer / R. Helm, Hippolytus Werke IV: Die Chronik. *GCS*, 46. Berlin 1955, 393 – 558, at 415, with the interpretation of A. M. Schilling, Die Anbetung der Magier und die Taufe der Sāsāniden: zur Geistesgeschichte des iranischen Christentums in der Spätantike. *CSCO*, 621. Louvain 2008, 251 – 253.

53 See Armenian Anonymous Chronicle (Markwart 415); John of Biclar, Chronicle (Mommsen 219); Fredegar, Chronicle 4.8, ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The fourth book of the Chronicle of Fredegar. London 1960, 7 – 11; Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards 4.50, ed. L. Capo, Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi. Verona 1992, 232 – 234; Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27, ed. M. Breydy, Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien. *CSCO*, 471 – 472. *Scriptores arabi*, 44 – 45. Louvain 1985, 117; all with the excellent treatment of Schilling, Anbetung 251 – 283. Similar claims attached to Khusrau I – see e. g. John of Nikiu, Chronicle 95; Ps.-Sebēos, History (Abgaryan 69) – and also to Khusrau II's sons; see e. g. Chronicle to 741 and Chronicle to 754, ed. I. Gil, Corpus Scriptorum Mvzarabicorum I. Madrid 1972, 7 – 54, at 8, 17 (suggesting *adoptio per arma* but not baptism); and the Restitutio crucis traditions discussed in Schilling, Anbetung 284 – 287.

This alleged baptism belongs to the realm of later legend, but Christian authors much closer to events could also suppose a more secret conversion of the shahanshah. Thus, for example, our two main sources for events imagine how, upon his flight from Bahram, Khusrau failed to decide upon a destination, instead giving rein to his horse, renouncing his Zoroastrian faith and entrusting himself to God.[54] Such stories perhaps reflect the fleeing Khusrau's own propaganda, for a broader pattern suggests a deliberate effort to proffer his own conversion in discussions with the Romans.[55] The *Chronicle to 1234* informs us that, before fleeing his throne, Khusrau called upon the Jafnid Jafna b. Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, then at Sergiopolis, to deliver his plea to Maurice, and during his flight he seems to have summoned other Christian luminaries.[56] Thus according to the *Khuzistan Chronicle*, upon his restoration Khusrau was wrath with the Nestorian catholicos Ishoʿyahb, for the latter, much to Maurice's disappointment, had not accompanied him in flight, nor met him upon his return march into Persia.[57] The

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54 Theophylact, History 4.11; Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.17; cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6080 where the horse is given free rein but God is not mentioned. A similar tale appears in the Khuzistan Chronicle, ed. I. Guidi in: Chronica minora I. *CSCO*, 1. *Scriptores arabi*, 1. Paris 1960, 15–39, at 16, in which it is stated that as Khusrau set out for war, an image of an old man appeared to him, and that his wife Shirin later identified the man as 'Sabrisho bishop of Lashum' (the future catholicos). Cf. Chronicle of Seert 65, placing the same anecdote in a later context.

55 So also Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 297–298.

56 See esp. Chronicle to 1234, 80 (I 215), nevertheless calling the Arab Abū Jafna Nuʿmān b. Mundhir. But cf. Agapius, Universal History (Vasiliev III 442), calling him instead 'Jafna' and without the detail about Sergiopolis; also Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.23, where the intermediary is simply the Roman commander at Sergiopolis. There is therefore some confusion over whether the messenger was Nuʿman b. Mundhir or his son Jafna, but the former at this stage seems to have been in exile; see John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 3.3.42; Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.2, with PLRE III Naamanes (al-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir) 3. On his apparent son Jafna see the account of the Severan colloquium of 586 in Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.22 (Chabot IV 383) where he is placed first at Hierapolis, and then in a Church of St Sergius at Gabitha (the Jafnid capital). Cf. PLRE III Jafnah (Gophna); ibid. Gōphna. Note that in Dīnawarī, General History (Girgas 95), it is another apparent Jafnid, Ḫālid (= Ḫārith) b. Jabala al-Ġassanī, who leads Khusrau from Yarmuk to Constantinople. On Rome and the Jafnids see esp. G. Fisher, Between empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in late antiquity. Oxford 2011, with 179 on Jafna; and on these Jafnid embassies Schilling, Anbetung 244, 270–271, who suggests that the confusion over Jafna results from Dionysios of Tel Maḥre's misreading of the 'eastern source', as preserved in Agapius.

57 Khuzistan Chronicle (Guidi 15–16); Chronicle of Seert 42.

same is also said of the Nasrid Nu'man (distinct from his Jafnid namesake), a recent convert from paganism.[58]

Despite the evident enthusiasm of Maurice's regime at the prospect, Khusrau did not convert – a letter of Gregory the Great, sent in 593, commiserates with Maurice's nephew, the bishop Domitian of Melitene, for his failed efforts.[59] Nevertheless, Khusrau's flirtation with the Christian faith was to continue even after his restoration, and the period from 591–602 is celebrated in Christian sources as a time of peace and open patronage in Persia.[60] Before confronting Bahram in their final confrontation, Khusrau is said to have turned once again to the Christian God, and supplicated saint Sergius for success, promising the oblation of an elaborate gold cross.[61] This again appears to present us with an echo of the shahanshah's own self-presentation, for following his restoration he indeed dedicated to Sergius an elaborate Justinianic cross which his grandfather had pillaged from Sergiopolis,[62] and to which he added an extensive Greek inscription recording his earlier petition to the saint.[63] Soon after he sent more gifts to the saint, inscribing a golden paten with an inscription which memorialised the Sergius's earlier aid, but also celebrated a new miracle through which Shirin, Khusrau's Christian wife, had conceived through the saint's intercession.[64] These

58 Khuzistan Chronicle (Guidi 17, 19); Chronicle of Seert 50, 60, 65, 87. For Nu'man's conversion see also Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.22, with PLRE III Naamanes (al-Nu'mān) 4, and P. Wood, Christianity and the Arabs in the sixth century, in G. Fisher / J. Dijkstra (eds.), Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity. Leuven 2014,) 353–368, at 366–367.

59 Gregory the Great, Letters 3.62 (Norberg I 212): 'Even though in truth I grieve that the emperor of the Persians has not been converted, I nevertheless wholly rejoice that you have preached the Christian faith to him.'

60 See e.g. Chronicle of Seert 58, 70; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.24; Ps.-Sebēos, History 13 (Abgaryan 85). Further discussion in Flusin, Saint Anastase (as footnote 5 above) II 99–106.

61 Theophylact, History 5.1.7–8; and cf. 5.2.4 (and 5.15.9–10 on a vision of the Virgin, predicting Khusrau's victories).

62 Cf. Procopius, Wars 2.20.5–16 ed. H. B. Dewing, Procopius, History of the Wars, Books I–II. Cambridge, MA 1914, 432–434; Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 4.28.

63 For the cross and its inscription see Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.21; Theophylact, History 5.13.1–6 (thinking the inscription an accompanying letter).

64 Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.21; Theophylact, History 5.14 (again thinking the inscription a letter). For comparison of the two versions see P. Allen, Evagrius Scholasticus: the church historian. Leuven 1981, 259–261. On Khusrau's patronage of St Sergius see E. Key Fowden, The barbarian plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran. Berkeley, CA 1999, 134–141. On Shirin and her patronage of Persian Christians see M. Hutter, Shirin, Nestorianer und Monophysiten. Königliche Kirchenpolitik im späten Sasanidenreich, in R. Lavenant (ed.), Symposium Syriacum VII. Rome 1998, 373–386.

remarkable ex votos were perhaps the first in a series of prominent Christian artefacts which passed between the two regimes. At Maurice's request – and as part of his wider efforts to collect in his capital various Christian relics – Khusrau dispatched the relics of the prophet Daniel from Susa (before popular pressure and two reported miracles led to a reversal);[65] and the Roman emperor is also said to have commissioned an icon of the catholicos Sabrisho, Isho'yahb's successor, and to have requested and received his cap, which he placed amongst the palace's other relics.[66] In return, Maurice dispatched to Sabrisho a encrusted gold cross, and a piece of the True Cross,[67] and as contacts increased across the border, both rulers used prominent Christians as ambassadors.[68] Little wonder, then, that some observers might have fantasised an imminent unification of the Roman and Sasanian empires in the Christian faith.

Death on the Bosphorus

On the 27th November 602, Maurice was murdered in a violent coup.[69] The emperor's dramatic death is described in a number of texts and traditions, but the fullest and most important account is contained in the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta, the main details of which have often been repeated in accounts both medieval and modern. Let us recap: The *History* reports that after an impe-

65 Ps.-Sebēos, History 14 (Abgaryan 85 – 86); for other (unsuccessful) efforts of Maurice cf. head of St Paul (Gregory the Great, Letters 4.30); relics of Demetrius (John of Thessalonica, Miracles of Demetrius 5, ed. P. Lemerle in: Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de saint Démétrius. Paris 1979, IV 47 – 165, at 88 – 90).
66 See Chronicle of Seert 67; cf. Mari, History of the Patriarchs, ed. H. Gismondi, Maris, Amri, et Salibae de patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria. Rome 1896 – 1899, f. 175a. For Maurice's cultivation of ascetics see also the claims in Life of Theodore of Sykeon 54, 82, 97, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéon. *Subsidia hagiographica*, 48. Brussels 1970.
67 Chronicle of Seert 67, noting that Khusrau intercepted the piece on behalf of Shirin, and that Sabrisho requested a second, delivered through the bishop and ambassador Milas (ibid. 68). Cf. Mari, History of the Patriarchs (Gismondi f. 176a).
68 Theophylact, History 5.15.9 (on Probus of Chalcedon); Chronicle of Seert 67, 68, 78 (on Maroutha of Chalcedon [= Probus?], and Milas), 79 (on Mar Aba of Kashkar); Mari, History of the Patriarchs (Gismondi f. 176a).
69 For the date: Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 694). For its possible commemoration in the Synaxarium: V. Grumel, La mémoire de Tibère II et de Maurice dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople. *AB* 84 (1966) 249 – 253; and cf. G. Garitte, Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle). *Subsidia hagiographica*, 30. Brussels 1958, 87. For a possible Heraclian memorial at the site: C. Mango, A memorial to the emperor Maurice? *Deltion tes christianikes archaiologikes hetaireias* 24 (2003) 15 – 20, esp. 15 – 17.

rial command to winter north of the Danube, the soldiers of the Balkans mutinied against Maurice and marched on Constantinople. A letter was then sent from the mutineers under Phocas to Maurice's son Theodosius asking him, or his new father-in-law Germanus, to assume the throne.[70] The emperor, suspecting treason, attempted to arrest Germanus, but then faced a popular revolt and was forced to flee the capital in the guise of a commoner, reaching the Church of St Autonomus (at Praenetus on the Gulf of Nicomedia)[71] along with his wife, children, and the praetorian prefect Constantine Lardys.[72] In the meantime, the Green faction invited Phocas to the Hebdomon, where he was acclaimed emperor and crowned in the Church of John the Baptist. At the Hippodrome on the following day, however, a breach of ceremonial protocol led the Blues to offer a portentous threat: 'Maurice is not dead'. Thus Phocas sent soldiers after the emperor, who intercepted and brought him to the harbour of Eutropius (at Chalcedon), where he and his sons were put to the sword.[73]

Two curious features of the wider narrative concern the fate of Maurice's sons. Theophylact reports that the imperial nurse had substituted her own infant for one of the princes, but that Maurice himself revealed the subterfuge to his murderers.[74] He also claims that while at St Autonomus Maurice – after showing to Theodosius his ring, and commanding him not to return unless he should again be shown it – dispatched him as ambassador to Khusrau, to beg him to reciprocate his earlier support. Theodosius then fled, and along with the praetorian prefect Constantine, reached Nicaea. Soon after however, when the Blues had offered their ominous reminder in the Hippodrome, but before Phocas has dispatched the soldiers after Maurice, the emperor is said, in Theophylact's telling, to have sent the aforementioned ring to Theodosius at Nicaea, whence he returned to the capital.[75] Theophylact's subsequent narrative suggests that Theodosius was murdered with his father, for we read that the corpses of the 'emper-

70 Note that in Chronicle to 1234 83, Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.24, and Agapius, Universal History (Vasiliev vol. 3 448) it is Peter, Maurice's brother, whom the rebels ask to assume the throne; cf. PLRE III Petrus 55.

71 See R. Janin, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins. Paris 1975, 86–87.

72 Constantine: PLRE III Constantinus qui et Lardys 33.

73 Theophylact, History 8.6.2–11.6 (who neglects to make clear that the emperor and his family were intercepted at Praenetus, as in Paschal Chronicle [Dindorf 694]); Theophanes, Chronographia 6094.

74 Theophylact, History 8.11.5 (de Boor/Wirth 305); cf. Theophanes, Chronographia 6094.

75 Theophylact, History 8.9.11, 8.11.1; cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6094 (de Boor 288–289), who here reports the dispatch of Theodosius but not his return.

ors' could soon be seen rolling in the tide on the coastline at Chalcedon.[76] However, after several further sections we find a specific indication of Theodosius fate.[77] For we are then informed that he had, in fact, fled upon reaching the Church of St Autonomus at Praenetus, and that Phocas, apprised of this, had sent an agent, Alexander, who pursued and then murdered him and Constantine at a place called 'Diadromoi',[78] said elsewhere to be near Acritas (also, like Praenetus, on the Gulf of Nicomedia).[79]

The account of Theophylact insists, then, that *all* of Maurice's sons were victims of the massacres. But he nevertheless admits a rumour that Alexander, at the instigation of Germanus, had spared Theodosius and slain a lookalike in his place; and that the real Theodosius had then travelled around the east, before coming to Colchis (i.e. Lazica), ending his life in 'the deserts of the barbarians'.[80] Then he states,

> And so this story re-echoed throughout the whole inhabited world, but it was some barbarian error that gave it birth. For, after laboriously investigating this matter as far as possible, we discovered that Theodosius also shared in the slaughter. For those who profess that the boy did not die are blustering with meagre evidence; for their story is that, alone of those slain, the head of the emperor Theodosius was not displayed.'[81]

Theophylact, now nearing the conclusion to his narrative, then turns to an assorted collection of anecdotes about Maurice, and to a short account of the failed attempts of Phocas to court Khusrau, and of the subsequent declaration of war.[82] But, then, however, he makes a sudden return to the fate of Theodosius:

> In these days, error came upon the inhabited world, and the Romans supposed that Theodosius was not dead. And this became an opportunity for very great evils, and this false supposition contrived an abundance of slaughters. When the rumour spread to the palace, the tyrant [Phocas] was greatly distressed and destroyed Alexander with the sword. For it was necessary for Phocas to destroy his co-partners in the tyranny, and to escort to ex-

76 Theophylact, History 8.12.2. According to Patria 3.185, ed. T. Preger, Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum, II. Leipzig 1907, 274, Maurice's sister (PLRE III Gordia 2) retrieved the bodies and placed them in the Monastery of St Mamas.
77 Theophylact, History 8.12.3 – 13.2.
78 Theophylact, History 8.13.3.
79 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 694).
80 Theophylact, History 8.13.4 (de Boor / Wirth 309).
81 Theophylact, History 8.13.5 – 7 (de Boor / Wirth 309) trans. M. Whitby / M. Whitby, The history of Theophylact Simocatta. Oxford 1986, 231.
82 Theophylact, History 8.13.7 – 15.7.

> traordinary deaths his fellow allies in the evil. For collaboration in evil is incapable of establishing the firm friendship of like minds.[83]

This, in fact, is the final paragraph of the *entire text* – an indication that the issue was, for the author, of crucial importance.[84] Thus where, as we have seen, Evagrius Scholasticus had earlier finished his own oeuvre with the hope which Theodosius's birth offered to the emperor and state, Theophylact finished his with an absolute insistence on his death.

The basic sequencing of this narrative was later adopted in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, who supplements Theophylact's account with material from other sources.[85] For Theophanes, the issue of Theodosius's survival seems less urgent, but upon acknowledging the rumour he nevertheless parts company with his source, and expands upon the perceived context:

> As for Maurice's son Theodosios, a rumour prevails that he escaped and was saved. This rumour was fanned by Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, who on different occasions uttered different lies, alleging that he had Theodosios with him and was making provision that he should take possession of the Empire of the Romans; whereas he was himself hoping to gain control of the Roman Empire by deceit; whereof he was convicted in many ways, especially by starting sudden wars and inflicting great damage on the Roman lands.[86]

In Theophanes' telling, then, the rumour is a piece of Persian propaganda, of deliberate disinformation designed to fan the flames of dissent within the Roman empire. For both Theophylact and Theophanes, therefore, there could be no question that Theodosius – the Augustus born in the purple, and adopted son of the empire – had been slain.[87]

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83 Theophylact, History 8.15.8 – 9 (de Boor / Wirth 314) trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact (as footnote 81 above) 235.

84 There is no need to think this ending discordant or disordered, as some scholars have; see the discussion in Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 47 – 48, and cf. below for the concluding chapters of the texts.

85 On Theophanes' use of Theophylact see M. Whitby, Theophanes' Chronicle source for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice (A.D. 565 – 602). *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 312 – 345, at 314 – 316, 324 – 337 (although cf. also note 178 below); cf. Olajos, Sources de Théophylacte (as footnote 48 above) 113 – 126.

86 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6095 (de Boor 291); trans. C. Mango / R. Scott, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern history, A.D. 284 – 813. Oxford 1997, 419.

87 Note also the unique report in Cedrenus, Compendium of Histories, ed. L. Tartaglia, Georgii Cedreni Historiarum compendium. *Bollettino dei classici*, 30. Rome 2016, II 680 (depending, according to the editor, on Ps.-Symeon the Logothete): 'But after Theodosius the son of Maurice

Theodosius redivivus

The insistence of Theophylact and Theophanes at once raises the reader's suspicion. Indeed, the narrative of Theophylact (and, to a lesser extent, of Theophanes) is replete with patent problems in respect of Theodosius: for example, Maurice's shifting motives, dispatching then recalling him; Theodosius's own wavering resolve, fleeing, returning, then fleeing again; his strange failure twice to escape the reach of agents or of messengers from Constantinople; and his rapid oscillation between distant centres. It is obvious, in fact, that the same accounts attempt to tread something of an interpretative tightrope, caught between two imperatives: first, to recognise the rumours about Theodosius (and the nurse's son), and acknowledge his flight from the capital; but second, to posit his return, and insist upon his death alongside, or soon after, his father. The insistence on Theodosius's death is indeed characteristic of texts produced in Greek, but our suspicions of their narrative are confirmed when our gaze turns instead to other languages. Later Frankish, Coptic, West Syrian and Melkite sources, let us note, follow the same Greek account in suggesting that all of Maurice's sons were slain.[88] But in the East Syrian, Armenian, and Islamic traditions, we encounter several accounts which affirm Theodosius's flight and survival.

Two East Syrian texts place Theodosius at the court of Khusrau in late 602 or 603, and then again at the siege of Dara, which we know to have extended for eighteen months across 603 and 604.[89] Thus the *Khuzistan Chronicle* (*c.*652) re-

had been sent to Khusrau, as rumour has it, Phocas sent after him and seized him at Nicaea, and when he had come to Leukate ordered for him to be killed. But he asked to receive the holy mysteries before being so killed. When he had received them, he gave thanks to God and took a stone from the ground, and struck it three times against his chest. He then prayed: "Lord Jesus Christ, you know that I have wronged no man upon the earth. Now as your power commands, so let it be for me." He said this and was beheaded. But some say that this Theodosius – after he had been sent with letters by his father Maurice to Chosroes, emperor of the Persians – disappeared (ἀφανὴς γέγονεν).' The source of this vignette is at present unclear.

88 Frankish: Paul the Deacon, History 4.26 (Capo 202) (listing Theodosius, Tiberius, and a 'Constantine' as Maurice's murdered sons). Coptic: John of Nikiu, Chronicle 103. West Syrian: Chronicle to 724 (Brooks 145); Jacob of Edessa, Chronicle; ed. E.W. Brooks in. Chronica minora III: *CSCO*, 5, *Scriptores syriaci*, 5. Paris 1961, 261–330, at 324; Chronicle of Zuqnin, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, II. *CSCO*, 104. *Scriptores syriaci*, 53. Paris 1965, 148 (which also presents Maurice and Theodosius as co-emperors for twelve years); Chronicle to 1234, 83; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.24, 10.25. Melkite: Agapius, Universal History (Vasiliev III 448); Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27 (Breydy 118) (excepting the son whom the nurse substitutes, as below note 181).

89 Ps.-Sebēos, History 31 (Abgaryan 107). On the siege of Dara, see Chronicle to 724 (Brooks 145), its fall dated to AG 915, ind. 9 (603/4); Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.25, dated to AG

ports that Theodosius, alone of Maurice's sons, escaped Phocas' massacre, and that Khusrau received him with honour, and had the catholicos crown him in church. Khusrau then supplied soldiers to Theodosius, who fought a force of Phocas near Dara, and was crushed.[90] At this point, Theodosius appealed for more troops, and Khusrau, alongside the catholicos (Sabrisho), marched out, defeated the Romans, and seized Dara.[91] Nothing more is said of him, and the implication seems to be that he died at Dara. This is made explicit in a later version of the same tradition contained within the *Chronicle of Seert* – a tenth-century compilation which nevertheless integrates far earlier texts composed in and around the Nestorian catholicosate.[92] The text notes how the peaceful relations between the Persian and Roman empires were shattered with the murder of Maurice, and how Khusrau then visited the aged catholicos Sabrisho (that former favourite of the Roman emperor) to seek divine approval for his imminent campaign 'to avenge the blood of the pious Maurice and to seat in his place Theodosius, who escaped the massacre.'[93] In a subsequent chapter dedicated to the 'Tale of Theodosius the son of Maurice, king of the Romans', the *Chronicle* claims that Theodosius fled to Khusrau who, vowing vengeance on the murderers of Maurice, crowned and promised to restore him. Then he dispatched Theodosius, with some soldiers and a 'cruel, inhuman, and hard general' to besiege Dara. Soon after Khusrau, along with the catholicos Sabrisho, reinforced the siege, and when the fortress fell, Khusrau abandoned his armies and returned to his capital. The account, then, is similar to that contained within the *Khuzistan Chronicle* but here reaches a blunt, unelaborated, conclusion: 'Then Theodosius died, having been poisoned.'[94]

Another tradition around Theodosius survives in the Armenian *History* attributed to Sebēos (*c.* 661). After a brief account of the coup of Phocas and the murder of Maurice and his sons, Ps.-Sebēos reports:

915, Phocas 2 (603/4); Khuzistan Chronicle (Brooks 19) gives Khusrau 14 (603/4). Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6118 also implies 604. Chronicle to 1234 86 and Chronicle of Seert 79 both claim that the siege lasted nine months, and the latter's synchronism for the death of Sabrisho soon after the siege (ibid. 70) demands 18.ix.603; but see Flusin, Saint Anastase (as footnote 5 above) II 71–74.

90 This alleged battle is otherwise unknown. The Roman forces known to have been sent in 603–604 focused their attentions on Narses at Edessa; see Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6095–6096, with PLRE III Germanus 13, Leontius 29.

91 Khuzistan Chronicle (Guidi 20–21).

92 See P. Wood, The Chronicle of Seert: Christian historical imagination in late antique Iraq. Oxford 2013, esp. 176–220.

93 Chronicle of Seert 70 (Scher IV 500).

94 Chronicle of Seert 79 (Scher IV 519–520).

> 'The emperor Maurice had a son named T'ēodos. A rumour spread over the whole country that T'ēodos had escaped and gone to the Persian king. Then there was no little turmoil in the Roman empire – there in the royal capital, and in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, and in Jerusalem and Antioch. In all regions of the land they took up the sword and slaughtered each other.'[95]

In the final part of this quotation, and in the subsequent section, Ps.-Sebēos telescopes the aftermath of Phocas' coup with the Heraclian seizure of Egypt (609–610), and the factional violence which accompanied it.[96] But he also there refers to the anti-Phocan rebellion of the Roman general Narses in Mesopotamia, and his seizure of Edessa.[97] It is probable that this occurred in 603.[98]

Ps.-Sebēos continues to report Khusrau's siege of Dara. While that siege was ongoing, he claims, Khusrau marched upon Edessa, where the Roman general Narses dressed 'a youth in royal garb', and dispatched him to the Persians with the words: 'This is the son of king Maurice, T'ēodos; do you have pity on him, just as his father had on you.'[99] Khusrau then returned to the siege of Dara and, with the pseudo-Theodosius in his entourage, captured it after a year and a half. After this, a later chapter claims, the shah sent 'the caesar T'ēodos, the so-called son of Maurice' with a Persian general to Armenia where, following a significant Roman defeat, the inhabitants of the fortress of Karin (Theodosiopolis) capitulated:

> Then the caesar T'ēodos came forward, saying: 'I am your king.' They then acquiesced and opened [the gate]. The chief men of the city came out and presented themselves to him. On returning they persuaded the city that he really was T'ēodos, son of Maurice. Then, having opened the gate, they submitted.[100]

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95 Ps.-Sebēos, History 31 (Abgaryan 106), trans. R.W. Thomson, in idem / J. Howard-Johnston, The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos. Liverpool 1999, I 57.

96 On this violence see P. Booth, Shades of Blues and Greens in the Chronicle of John of Nikiu. *BZ* 104 (2011) 555–601. Cf. below note 211.

97 Ps.-Sebēos, History 31 (Abgaryan 106).

98 On the revolt of Narses see Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6095; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.23 (undated); Chronicle to 1234 85, placing Narses at Antioch upon his rebellion, before his flight to Edessa; Jacob of Edessa, Chronicle (Brooks 324) (placed after Phocas' coup); Chronicle of Zuqnin (Chabot II 148) (placed in AG 914 = 602/3); Chronicle to 819, ed. A. Barsaum in Chabot, Chronicon anonymum ad … 1234, I 3–22, at 10 (dated AG 912 = 600/1). Theophylact, History 8.15.4 suggests that Maurice had removed Narses from Dara at the end of his reign, and replaced him with a Germanus (cf. PLRE III Germanus 13), at the Persians' request.

99 Ps.-Sebēos, History 31 (Abgaryan 107), trans. Thomson, Armenian History (as footnote 95 above) 58.

100 Ps.-Sebēos, History 33 (Abgaryan 110–111), trans. Thomson, Armenian History 63.

Ps.-Sebēos places this Armenian campaign in Khusrau's eighteenth year (607/8), a date which is supported in other sources.[101] This, then, is the latest witness to Theodosius's possible survival.

In the complex, crisscrossing stories around the late Sasanian kings which we encounter in later Arabic and New Persian literature – for example, in al-Dīnawarī (d. 895) (and the closely related *Nihāyat al-'irab fī aḫbar al-Furs wa-l-'Arab*); al-Ya'qūbī (d. *c.*905); al-Tabarī (d. 923) (and his Persian translator, Bal'amī, d. *c.*995); al-Mas'ūdī (d. *c.*956); Firdawsī (d. 1020); and al-Thaʿālibī (d. 1038), to name but a few – we also encounter a series of traditions around Theodosius.[102] For the most part those traditions concern his supposed (and far from credible) role in the campaign to restore Khusrau in 591,[103] when he

101 Narratio de Rebus Armeniae 112 (dating the siege of Theodosiopolis to Phocas 5 [606/7] but also Khusrau 20 [609/10]). See also Flusin, Saint Anastase (as footnote 5 above) II 80 – 81.

102 Such stories are sometimes attributed to a putative Sasanian 'Book of Lords' tradition (whether as a single text or a cluster of associated traditions), but for recent revisionism see e. g. P. Wood, The Christian reception of the Xwadāy Nāmag: Hormizd IV, Khusrau II, and their successors. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Ser. 3/26 (2016) 407 – 422 (arguing for a proliferation of traditions after Khusrau I); R. Hoyland, The 'History of the kings of the Persians' in three Arabic chronicles. Liverpool 2018, 1 – 23 (arguing against an 'official' text or texts); J. Hämeen-Anttila, Khwadāynāmag: the Middle Persian Books of Kings. *Studies in Persian cultural history volume*, 14. Leiden 2018, esp. 223 – 232 (positing a single original 'Book of Lords' but regarding it as a limited chronological text). For important reflections on the relation of the various later transmitters, irrespective of the origins of the 'Book of Lords', see esp. Z. Rubin, The reforms of Khusro Anūshīrwān, in Av. Cameron (ed.), The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East III: states, resources, and armies. Princeton 1995, 225 – 297; idem, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the account of Sasanian history in the Arabic Codex Sprenger 30. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005) 52 – 93; idem, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's Sources for Sasanian History *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 35 (2008) 27 – 58; M.R. Jackson Bonner, Al-Dinawari's Kitāb al-aḫbār al-ṭiwāl: an historiographical study of Sasanian Iran. *Res orientales*, 23. Leuven 2015, esp. 46 – 50.

103 See esp. al-Dīnawarī, General History, ed. V.F. Girgas, Kitāb al-Aḫbār aṭ-Ṭiwāl. Leiden 1888, 96 – 97, 102; al-Ya'qūbī, History, ed. M.T. Houtsma, I. Leiden 1883, 191 – 192; al-Ṭabarī, Annals, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari, II. Leiden 1883, 999, both he and al-Ya'qūbī calling Theodosius the brother of Maurice (but cf. al-Bal'amī, trans. H. Zotenberg, Chronique de Abou Djafar-Mo'hammed-ben Djarir-ben-Yezid Tabari, II. Paris 1867, 291, 299, calling him the son); Nihāyat al-'irab, as set out in E.G. Browne, Some account of the Arabic work entitled "Niháyatu'l-irab fi akhbári'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab," particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Kings. *Journal of the Royal Asiatique Society* 32 (1900) 195 – 259, at 239 – 240, calling Theodosius the son of Maurice; al-Mas'ūdī, Fields of Gold, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard / P. de Courteille, Les prairies d'or, II. Paris, 1863, 221, calling him the brother of Maria; Firdawsī, Shahnameh, trans. J. Mohl, Le Livre des Rois, VII. Paris 1878, 107 – 111, 132 – 135, 146 – 150, calling him the brother of Maurice; Mīr-Khwānd, Garden of Purity, trans. E. Rehatsek, The Rauzat-us-Safa, I/2. London 1892, 394 – 395, calling him the son.

also serves as chaperone to his sister, and Khusrau's new bride, Maria, a person unknown to Roman texts.[104] Although the origins of these stories – with their striking emphasis on imperial intermarriage, co-operation, and mutual preservation – are deserving of a far fuller exploration, let us note here that in al-Dīnawarī and al-Ṭabarī a son of Maurice escapes Phocas and seeks refuge with Khusrau, who puts him at the head of a large force alongside three Persian generals.[105] Al-Dīnawarī differentiates this surviving son from Theodosius, who is said to have died alongside his father, but does not refer to the other son's fate;[106] and al-Ṭabarī likewise distinguishes the son from Theodosius (although the two are identified in Balʿamī's translation),[107] but notes that when the Persian generals then conquered and devasted the Roman East – as an act of vengeance for the Romans' violence against Maurice – , '[N]one of the Romans acknowledged Mawrīq's son as their ruler, or offered him any obedience.'[108] Here then we also discover, if not Theodosius, then a son of Maurice, and claimant to the Roman throne, in the entourage of the invading Persian armies.

Across a range of texts produced within the former Sasanian sphere of influence, therefore, we discover a striking confluence of traditions around the survival of Theodosius. In the Roman world, we have seen above that both Theophylact and Theophanes acknowledge rumours of that survival, and that Theophanes dismisses these as a form of information warfare generated at the Sasanian

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104 See the texts cited in the previous note, with Firdawsī, Shahnameh (Mohl VII 225, 228, 237, 247) for further traditions around Maria; also al-Thaʿālibī, History of the Persian Kings, ed. and trans. H. Zotenberg, Histoire des rois des Perses. Paris 1900, 668 – 671, 694, 712; al-Maqdisī, Book of Creation and History, ed. and trans. C. Huart, Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire, III. Paris 1903,170. See also the discussion of Schilling, Anbetung (as footnote 52 above) 263 – 264. Maria is also referred to in eastern Christian texts: see Khuzistan Chronicle 17; Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27 (Breydy 117, also 118 – 119); Chronicle of Seert 58, 92; Georgian Chronicles, ed. S. Qauxčʻišvili, Kʻartʻlis Cʻxovreba, I. Tblisi 1955, 221; Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.23; Chronicle to 1234, 81; Bar Hebraeus, Chronicle (Budge II 92); cf. Agapius, Universal History (Vasiliev III 444, 447) although he does not mention Maria.

105 al-Dīnawarī, General History (Girgas 110); al-Ṭabarī, Annals (de Goeje II 1001 – 1002). Note that in the latter the son is also crowned in Persia.

106 al-Dīnawarī, General History (Girgas 110, although cf. 114); and the same in Mīr-Khwānd, Garden of Purity (Rehatsek 396).

107 al-Balʿamī, History (Zotenberg II 306 – 307).

108 al-Ṭabarī, Annals (de Goeje II 1002), trans. C. E. Bosworth, The History of al-Tabari, V. The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen. New York, NY 1999, 319. Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, History (Houtsma I 195), who notes in passing that after Maurice's murder a son came to Khusrau, was sent off with a force, but then killed.

court. Should we suppose, then, that the reported survival of Theodosius is a piece of deliberate disinformation, generated in the context of war, and somehow transmitted in East Syrian, Armenian, and Islamic texts? And even if the person who claimed to be the eldest son of Maurice, and who is said to have been present at two important sieges, is a real historical actor, might he have indeed been an impostor, a creation of Khusrau and/or of Narses?

There is good reason to suppose that Theodosius did indeed escape the massacre. Even without wider witnesses, and despite his vociferous objections, the obvious implication of Theophylact's entries on Theodosius – which culminate in Phocas's execution of Alexander – is that the emperor considered the rumours of Theodosius's escape to be true. Alexander was an officer in the Balkans and agent of Phocas who, before his commission to murder Theodosius, had been a messenger to Maurice and, later, to the circus factions.[109] His execution under Phocas is also recorded in the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu (*c.* 690) which, in these sections, depends upon an otherwise unique source or sources recording events in Constantinople and Alexandria. Having reported Phocas' coup, and the death of the emperor with his 'five sons', the *Chronicle* states:

> There were certain people who accused Alexander (*'əla 'əskəndəros*), who was one of the lords (*'agā'əzt*). He was a wise man, and beloved by all the people of Constantinople. People said to Phocas, 'This man Alexander wants to kill you and become emperor in your stead.' For this Alexander had married (*'awsaba*) a daughter of Maurice. Thereupon Phocas imprisoned Alexander and Kudis [Goudouïs?][110] and other eunuchs (*ḫəḍəwān*), and sent them to the city of Alexandria so that they might be imprisoned there. A short time after, Phocas sent [an order] to Justin (*yustinās*), [111] the city of Alexandria's general (*mak*ʷ*annən*), that he execute Alexander and those with him.[112]

It should be remembered that the *Chronicle* is not accessible except in an Ethiopic translation of a lost Arabic paraphrase of a Coptic original, so that the potential for distortion in transmission is significant. Here, it has been suggested that the *Chronicle* somehow confuses Alexander with Germanus, who was indeed executed later in the reign of Phocas.[113] But the name 'Alexander' is precise, and the biographical details do not match those of Germanus, who had not

109 See Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 318 (= De insidiis 108); Theophylact, History 6.8.9, 7.2.6, 8.10.11–13.

110 Zotenberg, Chronique 419 translates 'Goudoïs' without comment, but this person (Γούδουϊς) appears several times in the Balkans narrative of Theophylact, where he is called a *taxiarchos* (History 7.12.7), a middle-ranking position in the field armies; see PLRE III Guduin 1.

111 Otherwise unknown.

112 John of Nikiu, Chronicle 104 (Zotenberg 184).

113 See Zotenberg, Chronique 419 note 1.

'married a daughter of Maurice', and who is said to have been executed on Prote, not at Alexandria.[114] Nevertheless we must suspect some confusion. Maurice's three daughters (Anastasia, Theoctiste, Cleopatra) were placed under house arrest, and then confined to a convent, soon after their father's death, and it seems improbable that Phocas would have allowed such a match – even if one of those daughters had proved willing to wed the reported executioner of her eldest brother.[115] The Ethiopic 'had married a daughter of Maurice' thus seems to represent a distortion, even if the original is irrecoverable. But what seems significant is that Phocas' arrest of Alexander is again put in the context of Maurice's surviving children, and their perceived threat to Phocas's regime.

Despite his denials, Theophanes, too, provides significant evidence for Theodosius's survival. Across two separate entries (for 606/7 and 608/9) and with some duplication, Theophanes describes a plot against Phocas which revolved around Constantina, the wife of Maurice, and Germanus, the father-in-law of Theodosius. The plot, however, was revealed, and culminated in the execution of Constantina and her three daughters; Germanus and his daughter (the wife of Theodosius); and a raft of co-conspirators.[116] But a striking sentence perhaps reveals the hidden purpose, or hope, of their plot: 'As the rumour spread about that Theodosius, the son of Maurice, was alive, both Constantina and Germanus had high hopes on that account.'[117] The suggestion, therefore, is that long after Phocas' usurpation, Theodosius's own mother and father-in-law still expected him to reclaim his throne.

The emperor Phocas, therefore, was not alone in his apparent suspicion that Theodosius had escaped. That suspicion is in fact confirmed in a little-known piece of evidence from the Greek *Anacreontics* of Sophronius of Jerusalem, which includes a poem which we can situate, with some confidence, during

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114 Marriage of Germanus: Theophanes. Chronographia AM 6074. Execution on Prote: Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6098.

115 Fate of the daughters: see the accounts in Theophylact, History 8.15.1, Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 695; Theophanes, Chronographia 6095, 6098; John of Nikiu, Chronicle 103; Patria 3.185; Synopsis Chronikē (ed. K.N. Sathas in: Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη VII. Venice 1894, 104 – 105); cf. also the Synaxarium of the Constantinopolitan Church, ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris.* Brussels 1902, 207 – 208 for an otherwise unknown daughter 'Sopatra'. The daughters are named in Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 693, 697).

116 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6099 (but see also AM 6101); cf. Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 696 – 697) for the same executions, placing them in 605. For the plot and its sources see Olster, Politics of usurpation (as footnote 16 above) 69 – 73.

117 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6098 (trans. Mango / Scott, 423).

the author's time in Alexandria (*c.* 603–*c.* 619).[118] In one manuscript, the title of the poem bears the striking title, 'On the father Menas, steward of the Ennaton at Alexandria, who was falsely accused under Phocas of having received Theodosius the son of Maurice' (εἰς τὸν πάππον Μηνᾶν τὸν οἰκονόμον τοῦ ἐννάτου Ἀλεξανδρείας συκοφαντηθέντα ἐπι Φωκᾶ, ὅτι Θεοδόσιον τὸν υἱὸν Μαυρικίου ἐδέξατο). It describes how a 'son' of Menas (*sc.* a monk of the Ennaton), 'a new Judas', conspired with a prostitute and claimed that 'the enemy of the mighty emperor [*sc.* Theodosius] had left the domain of the dead, and appeared in the holy halls of the father [i.e. the Ennaton].' Then, it reports, the archon of Alexandria arrested Menas, and brought him to Alexandria to stand trial. The emperor then dispatched one Cosmas, 'champion of the truth', who ascertained the truth, and revealed 'the treacherous artifice' to 'the divine emperor' who, 'elevating his heart from immortal God,' ordered the conspirators punished and Menas released.[119] The positive description of the emperor Phocas encourages us to place the poem before Heraclius's seizure of Alexandria in 609.[120]

Sophronius's poem once again attests, therefore, to reports of Theodosius's survival. As in the Constantinopolitan sources discussed above, those rumours are said to be scurrilous. But even if this is correct, it is telling, first, that contemporaries reckoned this a viable avenue for slander; second, that the 'archon' of Alexandria considered the charge credible; and third, and most important, that the emperor Phocas pursued the accusation to the point of dispatching an agent. Who was Cosmas? We know of one Cosmas active under Phocas – the demarch of the Blues in Constantinople. It is notable, then, that this same person is said to have clashed with Alexander in the earliest reign of Phocas, so that he might well have made for an appropriate prosecutor of charges against Alexander's supposed crimes.[121] In both Sophronius and John of Nikiu, Alexandria emerges as a focus for the emperor's enquiries, and it is not impossible that

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118 For Sophronius in Alexandria see Booth, Crisis of empire (as footnote 3 above) 44–46, 101.

119 Sophronius, Anacreontics 21, ed. M. Gigante, Sophronii Anacreontica. Rome 1957, 128–133, with the apparatus at 129 for the title from B (= Cod. Barb. gr. 310 iam 246, f. 59^{r-v}). It is interesting to note that Sophronius's spiritual master John Moschus, Pratum Spirituale 127 (*PG* 87/3, 2989D) claims to have known the aunt of a niece of Maurice – thus, it seems, not a sister of the emperor, but the sister-in-law of one of his sisters or brother – whom he calls Amma Damiana. Her first anecdote in the Pratum might suggest she was a nun on Sinai; for this association cf. below 181.

120 See also Olster, Politics of usurpation (as footnote 16 above) 172–174.

121 See PLRE III Cosmas 19, with Theophylact, History 8.10.11–12 (and Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6094) for the antagonism between him and Alexander. For Blues as agents of Phocas, cf. PLRE III Bonosus, with Booth, Shades of Blues and Greens (as footnote 96 above).

both are describing the same investigation. (Is Sophronius's archon identical with John of Nikiu's Justin?) If so, then that investigation seems to have resulted in the acquittal of Menas, but the execution of Alexander.

The arrest of Menas, the execution of Alexander, and the expectations of dissident elements in the capital all suggest that the Constantinopolitan court considered rumours of Theodosius's survival credible, and that it was in active pursuit of his accomplices. There is no need to accept, then, either that those rumours were a piece of pure Sasanian propaganda, or that the Theodosius who accompanied the initial Persian campaigns was an impostor. As James Howard-Johnston has argued, it is improbable that Narses could have deceived both the Edessans and the Persians with his reported ruse – in particular when we consider the close connections which had existed between the two courts – and more probable that Ps.-Sebēos has seized upon some deceptive counter-narrative disseminated from Phocas' court, in a desperate effort to discredit Sasanian claims.[122] The Theodosius reported in the *Khuzistan Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of Seert*, and Ps.-Sebēos was therefore the eldest son of Maurice, Augustus of the Roman empire. The route via which he arrived in Persia is obscure. But it is not impossible that Ps.-Sebēos was correct in suggesting that Theodosius first fled to Edessa, either conscious of, or prompting, Narses' rebellion against Phocas. For Narses was a brilliant commander whose reputation revolved around one salient act: the restoration of the refugee Khusrau II to the throne of his father.[123]

Although his precise fate is uncertain, it seems improbable that Theodosius survived much longer than the capitulation of Theodosiopolis (*c.* 608), if he had not died before at Dara (604). Nevertheless, he was to cast a long shadow over subsequent events. Several sources emphasise that Khusrau declared war in order to avenge Maurice,[124] but it is doubtful that this was an unabashed 'pretext' for pursuing conquest.[125] In 591, Khusrau is said to have appealed to Maur-

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122 J. Howard-Johnston, in Thomson / Howard-Johnston, Armenian History (as footnote 95 above) , II 197 – 198.

123 See esp. Theophylact, History 4.15 – 5.10; Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History 6.19; Ps.-Sebēos, History 11; and PLRE III Narses 10. I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr Joseph Plant, a former student at Oxford.

124 Desire for vengeance: see e. g. Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.25; Chronicle to 1234, 86; Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27 (Breydy 118); Chronicle of Seert 79; Ps.-Sebēos, History 38 (Abgaryan 122); Georgian Chronicles (Qauxč'išvili 221). For the same point see Schilling, Anbetung (as footnote 52 above) 254, 280 – 281.

125 So Theophylact, History 8.15.7, trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact (as footnote 81 above) 234 – 235: 'And so Chosroes exploited the tyranny as a pretext for war, and mobilized that world-destroying trumpet: for this became the undoing of the prosperity of Romans and

ice on the principle that the Roman emperor was bound to defend his Persian counterpart against the forces of chaos, and in the subsequent decades the two regimes had co-operated to an unprecedented extent. It would not be surprising, then, if he had greeted news of his erstwhile protector's violent usurpation with outrage, and vowed to restore a supplicant Theodosius to his throne. Indeed, even after Heraclius had deposed Phocas and sued Khusrau for peace – himself posing, according to some sources, as Maurice's avenger,[126] and even as Khusrau's son[127] –, the shahanshah refused his overtures, and, according to Ps.-Sebēos, offered a telling retort: 'That kingdom is mine, and I established T'ēodos, son of Maurice, as king. But this one has become king without our permission and offers us our own treasure as a gift. However, I shall not desist until I have taken him in my grasp.'[128] It is probable that at this point Theodosius was dead. But for Khusrau – as Ps.-Sebēos or his source perceived – the purpose of war was more than the simple removal of Phocas. It was rather a defence of that principle of mutual protection which had, for a fleeting moment, created a profound peace along the Romano-Persian border.

The sins of the father

Theophylact's repeated insistence that Theodosius had died alongside his father therefore serves to counter persistent (and, it seems, well-founded) rumours that the emperor had survived – rumours which threatened to delegitimise the claim of Heraclius to the throne. But that insistence was but one fibre within a dense fabric of Heraclian responses to the rule of Maurice, responses which aimed to cast the emperor as a failure, and therein to further undercut the potential claim of Theodosius. For the first two decades of Heraclius's reign, the court's reception of Maurice's reign is more or less invisible to us. But at the end of the Last Great War, and thus concurrent with the peace at Arabissus, we first per-

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Persians. For Chosroes feigned a pretence of upholding the pious memory of the emperor Maurice.' Cf. Theophanes, Chronographia 6095 (as above p. 797).

126 See Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 707 – 708); Michael the Great, Chronicle 11.1; Ps.-Sebēos, History 38 (Abgaryan 122).

127 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 709).

128 Ps.-Sebēos, History 34 (Abgaryan 113). The aorist 'I established' suggests that Theodosius was dead; pace the comment of Thomson, in idem / Howard-Johnston, Armenian History (as footnote 95 above) I 66 note 411: 'a future … would make better sense.' The future does occur, however, in the parallel passage of Thomas Artsruni, History of the House of Artsrunik' 2.3 ed. K'. Patkanean, Patmut'iwn Tann Artsruneats'. St Petersburg 1887, 88, who depends here on Ps.-Sebēos or an intermittent source.

ceive a complex but concerted attempt to reshape perceptions of Maurice's rule. Theophylact Simocatta's classicising account of the empire's wars under Maurice, which we have encountered throughout our exposition so far, was completed in Constantinople in *c.* 629 – 630,[129] and was, according to its own prologue, a commission of Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, a close collaborator of the emperor.[130] It is, then, both a precious guide to the two decades 582 – 602 and, in addition, a frequent witness to the ideological preoccupations of the Heraclian court at a crucial moment – that triumphant but nevertheless tragic period between the Last Great War and the first expansion of the Arabs.

On the eve of his usurpation, according to Theophylact, Maurice had become less than popular amongst the people of Constantinople. Thus he describes a significant shortage of food over the winter of 601/2, and places in the following February a riot at the Feast of Hypapante, during which stones were thrown against the emperor.[131] Then, during the rebellion of the soldiers of Thrace, as Maurice attempted to arrest Germanus for treason, we are told that the Constantinopolitans turned against the emperor, denouncing him as a heretic, burning the house of the praetorian prefect Constantine, and precipitating the factions' abandonment of their posts upon the capital's walls.[132] As Maurice fled the capital, 'the masses' spent the night in celebration, and denounced the fallen emperor with 'insulting chants'.[133]

There seems little reason to doubt that Maurice's reign was indeed unpopular in certain quarters.[134] Various sources point to a controversial tightening of the fisc, and attribute this either to Tiberius's excessive largesse in the period

129 For the date: Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 39 – 45. Pace e. g. P. Schreiner, Theophylaktos Simokates, Geschichte. *Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 20. Stuttgart 1985, 2 – 3; Olajos, Sources de Théophylacte (as footnote 48 above) 11; Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above) 180, who read references to Roman-Persian power passing to others at e. g. Theophylact, History 4.11.2 – 3 and 4.13.13 (cf. below p. 823) as indicating knowledge of the Arab conquests. It is far more probable that these references mean the Avars and/or Turks (as at History 3.9.11). Cf. the comment also of Meier, Kaiser Phokas (as footnote 14 above) 165 note 90.
130 Theophylact, History Dialogue. For Sergius and his patronage see J. L. van Dieten, Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610 – 715). Amsterdam 1972, 1 – 56, esp. 54 – 55.
131 Theophylact, History 8.4.11 – 12. For this riot, also described in Ps.-John of Antioch, and Theophanes, see below p. 816.
132 Theophylact, History 8.9.2 – 5. Cf. John of Nikiu, Chronicle 102 (Zotenberg 183), where the Constantinopolitans proclaim, 'We should have a Christian emperor in this city!'
133 Theophylact, History 8.9.7.
134 See e. g. the dark warnings contained in Gregory the Great, Letters 11.4, and his celebration of Phocas' coup as above note26.

before,[135] or to Maurice's own avarice.[136] But in the narrative of Theophylact, dissent against the emperor – which he is, of course, not obliged to acknowledge – is not somehow neutral. For it forms part of a wider attempt to undermine Maurice's claim to the throne, as the narrative approaches his violent death. Here, Phocas' rebellion follows upon Maurice's command that the soldiers winter north of the Danube. It is probable that this command reflected real strategic concerns, but Theophylact fails to acknowledge this fact, attributing the command to nothing more than the emperor's parsimonious attempt to curtail the soldiers' wages.[137] It at once strikes the reader, then, that for Theophylact the rebellion has a basis in legitimate political concerns. But he will go even further. As the revolt gathers pace, the lieutenant of Peter, Maurice's brother and *magister militum*, relates a dream in which he had received an imperial missive inscribed with the words, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the true God, the divine grace, the leader of the churches, accomplishes what is lacking for the advantage of everyone, and for the present promotes this master of the revolt [i. e. Phocas].'[138] The qualification 'for the present' is important – but it is evident that Phocas is in fact, for now, the instrument of divine punishment. Indeed, soon after, when the soldiers set aside their grievances, and prepare ships to sail across the Danube, storms and a sudden cold rise up and reignite the rebellion. The implication is that the dangers of wintering in the north had been underlined – but coming so soon after the aforementioned dream, the reader can have little doubt that this was a further divine sign.[139]

Although such themes might well have been conducive to Phocas and his supporters, and have originated with them, we need not suppose that a hapless and otherwise pro-Maurician Theophylact has somehow integrated them in error.[140] It is true that the historian is sometimes inconsistent – thus in one

135 See e. g. John of Ephesus, Ecclesiastical History 5.20; Chronicle to 1234, 76.
136 John of Nikiu, Chronicle 95; History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Vulgate Recension), ed. B. Evetts, 1. *PO*, 1. Paris 1904, 475. For the actual context of the depletion of the fisc, see P. Sarris, Economy and society in the age of Justinian. Cambridge 2006, esp. 228 – 234.
137 See Theophylact, History 8.6.10 (and cf. earlier incidents at 3.1.2, 6.7.6 – 7, 7.1; with the warning of Peter at 8.7.2 – 3), with the observations of Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 165 – 167; Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact (as footnote 81 above) 219 note 30; Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above) 182. See also Michael the Great, Chronicle 10.24 for the same explanation; but cf. John of Nikiu, Chronicle 102, where the rebels' first concern is over wages and supplies.
138 Theophylact, History 8.6.5 – 6 trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 218.
139 Theophylact, History 8.6.8.
140 So e. g. Whitby and Whitby, Theophylact 218 note 28 (suggesting the use of a source which justified Phocas' coup, against Theophylact's own purpose); P. Schreiner, Der brennende Kai-

place he calls Phocas a polluter of the purple;[141] and in another he can lament the corpses of Maurice and his sons as 'calamities for the inhabited world' and 'depictions of misfortunes'.[142] But alongside this evident desire to excoriate Phocas, and to bemoan the beginning of his rule, the emphasis upon the popular opposition to Maurice in the capital, and upon his maltreatment of the armies of Thrace, points to a much more consistent and pervasive purpose – the development of the notion that Maurice deserved his inauspicious death.

Following his description of Maurice's flight from the rioting in the capital, Theophylact makes an unexpected turn: he now claims that Maurice 'in repentance philosophically accepted the danger' (and that Theodosius, shown his father's ring, also 'volunteered for the disaster'); that the subsequent murder of the emperor's sons was an 'advanced punishment'; and that the emperor greeted that sight with recourse to the Psalmist: 'Righteous art thou O Lord, and upright are thy judgements' (Ps. 118[119]: 137).[143] There follows the aforementioned account of the nurse's failed attempt to substitute the emperor's infant son for her own, before Maurice's death is described with the words, '[T]hus the emperor became superior even to natural laws, and exchanged his life.'[144] Theophylact concludes the section thus: 'It is said that, some time before his slaughter, the emperor Maurice had by letter supplicated in the more venerable churches of the inhabited world that the Lord Christ, one of the supermundane Trinity, might exact repayment for his misdeeds in this present mortal and perishable world.'[145] Through his atonement and stoical acceptance of his fate, Maurice therefore approaches a perverse kind of sainthood, and a contrast with Phocas is implied. But in the telling of Theophylact, the penitence of Maurice does not suffice to postpone his terrible death, nor those of all his sons.

Alongside his more famous and overt critique of Phocas, therefore, Theophylact also pursues a more complex critique of Maurice.[146] To reinforce the point, in

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ser. Zur Schaffung eines positiven und eines negativen Kaiserbildes in den Legenden um Maurikios, in T. Olajos (ed.), Byzance et ses voisins. Mélanges à la mémoire de Gyula Moravčsik. Szeged 1994, 25–31, at 26–28. Cf. also below note 153.

141 See the comment at Theophylact, History 8.10.1, where Phocas is called he 'who must brutally ravaged the chaste purple' (trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 225), repeating a statement in the opening Dialogue.

142 Theophylact, History 8.12.2–3, trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 225.

143 Theophylact, History 8.11.3, trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 227; cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6094.

144 Theophylact, History 8.11.5–6, trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 227.

145 Theophylact, History 8.11.6, trans. Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 227; cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6094.

146 See note 14 above.

his concluding section – which culminates in the aforementioned reiteration of Theodosius's death, as the denouement of the text – Theophylact also weaves a subtle condemnation of Maurice's rule, through a series of anecdotes which have sometimes been dismissed as more or less miscellaneous.[147] This section contains, first, a miracle which announced the emperor's death at Alexandria before the arrival of the news,[148] and then some fleeting praise for Maurice.[149] It then turns, however, to two extended, unique, and damning notices on Maurice's activities and intentions. In the first the emperor is said to have doubted and to have tested the annual miracle performed at the Church of Euphemia at Chalcedon, that is, nothing less than the venue for the Council of 451 – the clear implication, therefore, is that Maurice is an arch-heretic or even unbeliever.[150] In the second he is said, in a will composed in 596/7, to have carved up the empire between his various sons – thus the implication here is that he intended, in effect, to liquidate the Roman empire.[151] This will, it is claimed, was discovered under Heraclius. But one cannot help but suspect that the emperor's un-Roman testament,[152] and his un-orthodox inspection of Euphemia's tomb,[153] are in fact inventions of the Heraclian court.[154]

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147 See the discussion in Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 47 – 48.
148 Theophylact, History 8.13.7 – 15. Pace Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 232 note 82, but this need not be indicative of Maurice's saintliness, for when a similar miracle announces the murder in the Life of Theodore of Sykeon, the saint's monks proclaim that it was deserved, on account of the emperor's evil deeds; see Life of Theodore of Sykeon 119 (ed. A.-J. Festugière, Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn. *Subsidia hagigraphica*, 41. Bruxelles 1970, 96), with 166 for an accurate prediction of the length of Heraclius's reign, placing the text in or after 641. For portents of Maurice's death see Theophylact, History 6.111.1, 7.12.10 – 11; Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6093; Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, Ecclesiastical History 18.35.
149 See Theophylact, History 8.13.16 – 17, praising Maurice's love of learning, euergetism at Tarsus, and remission of taxes.
150 Theophylact, History 8.14.1 – 9. Cf. H. Grégoire, Sainte Euphémie et l'empereur Maurice. *Le Muséon* 59 (1946) 295 – 302, who treats the episode as historical and argues that Maurice was attempting to appease the Armenians who would serve in his subsequent Balkan campaign. On implicit criticisms of Maurice's piety, see also Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above) 182, drawing attention to the ironic contrast drawn between John the Faster and Maurice at Theophylact, History 7.6.1 – 5.
151 Theophylact, History 8.11.7 – 10.
152 Pace Feissel, Trois notes (as footnote 10 above) 254, but I would read the reference to 'sons' in a petition of 591 from the bishops of Raetia Secunda, ed. Schwartz, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum (ACO 4.1.2) 132 – 135 (at 132 – 133: *deprecamur per … salutem dominorum filiorum vestorum, quibus perpetuum imperium deo gubernante permaneat*) – and likewise the name *pater imperatorum* attached to him in Gregory the Great, Letters 3.61 (Norberg I 210) (593) – to mean Maurice's descendants in general, and not that the bishops 'ne considèrent pas Théodose comme unique héritier du trône.' There is little indication that other sons

Through this portrait of the emperor's rule, Theophylact no doubt guards against its excessive idealisation. But it is evident that he also wants to make a point about succession. Joseph Frendo has observed how Theophylact earlier chooses to emphasise, through two passages devoted to the deaths of Maurice's predecessors, the smooth successions of both Tiberius and Maurice, and thus the legitimate transfer of power to a designated successor, rather than to an usurper.[155] But his point is not simply that violent usurpation is undesirable. For these scenes – in which Tiberius, in particular, offers Maurice dire warnings about the dangers of misrule, and in which a divine voice then warns him of imminent tyranny[156] – also foreshadow the failures of Maurice, and point to the latter's abrogation of the right to choose his successor.[157] This specific failure of Maurice is indeed anticipated, and reinforced, through a Persian prototype set out earlier in the text. Thus through paired speeches set at the time of Bahram's rebellion, the shahanshah Hormizd serves to model the 'tyrant' whose oppressive regime has nurtured rebellion, and who has surrendered the right to continue the dynasty.[158] His own nobles refuse his attempts to nominate a successor – and it is important for Theophylact that this successor is *not* Khusrau, whom Hormizd here denounces in the strongest terms, but a brother. Thus Hormizd mirrors and anticipates the Roman emperor Maurice, and his courtiers' subsequent

of Maurice ever appeared in official propaganda, although see the report of the Patria 2.28 (Preger II 166) of statues 'of Maurice and his wife and his children' at the Chalke.

153 Pace M. J. Dal Santo, The God-guarded empire? Scepticism towards the saints' cult in early Byzantium, in P. Sarris et al. (eds.), An age of saints? Power, conflict, and dissent in early medieval Christianity. *Brill's series on the Early Middle Ages*, 20. Leiden 2011, 129 – 49, at 135 – 138, who suggests that the anecdote derives from an anti-Maurician source composed under Phocas. Cf. also note 140 above.

154 See also the statement at Theophylact, History 8.12.12 (and Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6103), that when Heraclius later reviewed his soldiers, he discovered two soldiers alone left from those who had served under Phocas.

155 Theophylact, History 1.1 (Tiberius); 3.16.4.–6, with J. D. C. Frendo, History and panegyric in the age of Heraclius: the literary background to the composition of the "Histories" of Theophylact Simocatta,. *DOP* 42 (1988) 143 – 156, at 153 – 154.

156 Theophylact, History 1.2.1 – 2.

157 On these speeches and their narrative function see esp. Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above) 174, 177 – 178.

158 See the competing speeches at Theophylact, History 4.4.1 – 5.12, in which Hormizd condemns the tyranny and disorder of Bahram's rebellion, and attempts to appoint a brother of Khusrau as shahanshah (while railing against Khusrau at 4.4.14 – 15); before the Persian Binodes denounces Hormizd himself as a tyrant, and denies his right to appoint a successor. On the more general role of speeches as a vehicle for Theophylact's opinions, see A. Kotłowska / Ł. Różycki, The role and place of speeches in the work of Theophylact. *Vox Patrum* 36 (2016) 353 – 382.

slaughter of his son and preferred successor, in his presence, looks forward, in narrative terms, to the reported fate of Theodosius.[159]

At the same time, however, Theophylact resists two other, perhaps more obvious, parallels: that between Bahram and Phocas; and that between Khusrau and Theodosius. Both Bahram and Phocas are rebels against rulers who deserve their fates. Bahram's own subsequent failure is however twofold: first, to assume power without the consent of the Persian nobles; and, second, to refuse the rightful successor – the regal son Khusrau.[160] In the first instance, we can perhaps read a prediction of Phocas, whose claim is based (in Theophylact's account) on the support of the soldiers and members of the circus factions.[161] But in the second instance, the parallel between Bahram and Phocas must dissolve, for the rightful successor to Maurice would then be his son – either Theodosius or one of his brothers. Thus in contrast to Khusrau, Theodosius is here implicated in the punishment visited on his father, and thus unable to make similar recourse to the court of a neighbouring protector. For Theophylact, there can be no suggestion that Theodosius had survived.

In all this, Theophylact is nevertheless careful not to contradict the right of the good ruler also to pass his empire to a son, and his audience *c.* 630 must have understood the message. Maurice might have failed to establish his familial line, but the emperor Heraclius matched his procreative powers, and at the time of Theophylact's text, he had had several sons, both from his first marriage to Eudocia (Heraclius Constantine),[162] and through his second marriage to Martina (e.g. Heraclonas).[163] Heraclius Constantine had been born on 3.v.612,[164] and

159 See Theophylact, History 4.6.2 (repeated in Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6080). The parallel is also noted in Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above) 176, 178 – 179, who also draws attention to episode of Paulinus at Theophylact, History 4.6.2, where the magician is forced to watch the execution of his son who had shared in his crimes (not mentioned in the parallel account of John of Nikiu, Chronicle 98).

160 See the letters of Hormizd and Khusrau at Theophylact, History 4.7.7 – 11; 4.11.5 – 7.

161 Theophylact, History 8.7 – 8.10, with Olster, Politics of Usurpation (as footnote 16 above) 53 – 59.

162 See PLRE III Constantinus 38; PmbZ Konstantinos III. 3701. On Eudocia, who died in 612, see PLRE III Eudocia quae et Fabia.

163 Heraclonas (PLRE III Heraclius Constantinus; PmbZ Heraklonas 2656) was born in *c.* 626, after the marriage to Martina in *c.* 623 (so implied in Nicephorus, Short History 11 and Paschal Chronicle [Dindorf 714] contra Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6105, who errs in placing it in 612/3). By 630, Heraclius and Martina had also had Fabius, Theodosius, and David (PLRE III Fabius; Theodosius 44; David 8; PmbZ David 1241).

164 See Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 702); Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6103; cf. Nicephorus, Short History 2; Ps.-Sebēos, History 34 (Abgaryan 114).

soon after, on 22.i.613, he was elevated to the status of co-emperor.[165] In contrast to Maurice's eldest son Theodosius, Heraclius Constantine soon appeared in official regnal formulae – as contained in texts,[166] documents,[167] and laws[168] – and on large numbers of solidi (crowned beside his father).[169] With Heraclius, therefore, we witness a far more concerted and patent effort to establish the rightful succession; and in the narrative of Theophylact, his most prominent court historian, we find an extended deliberation on the principles of filial succession, enshrined within the failed efforts of Maurice to govern his own empire well, and thus to secure his son upon the throne.

The ghost of Maurice

Theophylact's themes were not developed in isolation. For in two other Heraclian historians we encounter a parallel insistence on Theodosius's death and, in one, a similar emphasis on the prior sins of Maurice. The first is the *Paschal Chronicle*, a universal chronicle stretching from creation to *c.* 630, which an anonymous author within the Constantinopolitan patriarchate completed at the same time that Theophylact was setting down his pen.[170] Here we again encounter the claim that Theodosius died soon after his father. Thus the *Chronicle* states that Maurice and four sons – Tiberius, Peter, Justin, and Justinian – were arrested at St Autonomus and slain near Chalcedon, and that the praetorian prefect Con-

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165 See Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 703); cf. Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6104 (dating the coronation to 25.xii.612); also Nicephorus, Short History 5.
166 See Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 704 – 726).
167 See P. Ital. I 21 (Ravenna, 625). Heraclius Constantine does not appear in the regnal formulae of Egyptian papyri before 630; see Bagnall / Worp, Chronological Systems (as footnote 37 above) 270 – 271; but cf. F. Preisigke, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, I. Strasbourg/Berlin 1913, 5112 (6.iii.618), where an oath formula refers to him as Augustus alongside Heraclius. For Heraclius's regnal formulae, alongside Heraclius Constantine, see also K. A. Worp, Regnal formulas of the emperor Heraclius. *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 23 (1993) 217 – 232; C. Zuckerman, La formule e datation du SB VI 8986 et son témoinage sur la succession d'Héraclius. *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 25 (1995) 187 – 201.
168 See the regnal formulae in Heraclius, Novels 2 (i.xi.617), 3 (24.iv.619), 4 (1.iv.629), ed. J. Konidaris, Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios. *Fontes Minores* 5 (1982) 33 – 106, with 55 – 56 on the dates.
169 See P. Grierson, Byzantine coins. Berkeley, CA 1982, 93 – 94, with Pl. 16 nos 274 – 276 for the types produced 613 – 629.
170 On the date see Whitby / Whitby, Chronicon Paschale xi, 190 – 191, and ibid. xxvii on the probable origins of the author within the clerical staff of Hagia Sophia, under the patriarch Sergius.

stantine and Theodosius met the same fate, in unstated circumstances, at 'Diadromoi, near Acritas'.[171] The narrative is here far less developed; but it agrees in essence with the facts as stated in Theophylact's account.

The second text is the *Chronicle* attributed to John of Antioch, in which we discover a far simpler account of Theodosius's death, but a far more developed tradition of the sin and punishment of Maurice. Several fragments relating to the period from the end of Maurice's reign to the Heraclian revolt are embedded (in vulgarised and/or epitomised form?) in the later *Excerpta* of Constantine VII, and there attributed to a John of Antioch. It seems probable that these fragments once belonged to an independent text dealing with the reign of Phocas, and that by the tenth century these had somehow been attached to the authentic John of Antioch, who wrote a classicising chronicle (also known, for the most part, through the *Excerpta*) which ended in 518.[172] Since this independent text culminated in the Heraclian revolt, and since it goes to great pains to legitimise that revolt through demonising Phocas, we can perhaps assume that it was a product both of the Heraclian period and of Heraclian patronage.[173] It is striking, then, that we again encounter the insistence on Theodosius's death, in a version divested of the complications described in other Heraclian texts. For here, when Maurice and his children flee the palace upon Phocas' coronation, Theodosius is

171 Paschal Chronicle (Dindorf 694)..

172 I here follow the more cogent case of S. Mariev, Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt. *CFHB*, 47. Berlin 2008, contra Roberto, Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta (as footnote 46 above), the latter nevertheless including within his useful edition the fragments from the Excerpta concerning Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius (from which I cite above and below). Roberto's fundamental argument is that these derive from an epitome of John's work which has removed the classicising veneer, where elsewhere in the Excerpta it has been retained. This cannot be discounted, but besides the stylistic and linguistic dissonance between the earlier and later material, it is problematic for Roberto's position that Johannine fragments covering the period from Justin I to Tiberius are almost non-existent in the extant Excerpta, which encourages us again to think of separate works. For the various salvos in this debate see e.g. S. Mariev, Neues zur "Johannischen Frage"? *BZ* 99 (2006) 535 – 549; U. Roberto, Research prospects on John of Antioch. Notes on the edition by S. Mariev. *JÖB* 60 (2010) 115 – 128; S. Mariev, John of Antioch reloaded: a tutorial, in M. Meier et al. (eds), Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas: Autor – Werk – Überlieferung. *Malalas-Studien*, 1. Stuttgart 2016, 253 – 266. For the problems of both positions see P. van Nuffelen, John of Antioch, inflated or deflated. Or: how (not) to collect fragments of early Byzantine historians. *Byzantion* 82 (2012) 437 – 450.

173 On Phocas see U. Roberto, The circus factions and the death of the tyrant: John of Antioch on the fate of the Emperor Phocas, in F. Daim / J. Drauschke (eds.), Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter. Mainz 2010, I 55 – 77, although his attempt to make such passages integral to a wider theme, as witnessed in the earlier Johannine fragments, is not convincing.

instead captured and slain.[174] There is no suggestion that he died later than his father.

Although Ps.-John of Antioch's account seems to be independent of that of Theophylact, it nevertheless reinforces several of the latter's most striking themes. Three extant fragments concern the reign of Maurice. The first dwells on the theme of Maurice's sin, for it alludes to hatred of the emperor for his attempt to betray certain prisoners – no doubt described in a now lost part of the text – , and a subsequent, thwarted, command that Comentiolus betray the soldiers of Thrace.[175] The second, like Theophylact, also reports on a riot during the Hypapante in 602 – so that Ps.-John too has chosen to underscore popular opposition to the emperor – but adds that the rioters then found a bald man who resembled Maurice, dressed him with a crown of garlic, seated him on an ass, and mocked him with an insulting chant.[176] The third and final fragment describes the revolt of Phocas, and the aforementioned murder of Theodosius, but commences with a vision set on the eve of the rebellion, in which Maurice saw himself standing on the purple marble before the Chalke gate, from a which a voice asked him, '"How do you want that I repay you? Now or in the future?" Maurice then answered, "Now", and the voice ordered for him to be given to the soldier Phocas.'[177] In the fragments of Ps.-John, then, we find the disparate parts of an alternative, more developed, tradition of Maurice's sin, repentance, and punishment – a tradition also reflected, let us note, in the later *Chronographia* of Theophanes.[178]

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174 Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 318 (= De insidiis 108).

175 See Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 316 (= De insidiis 106) (Roberto 546): 'Because he was offended at being hated over his betrayal of the prisoners, Maurice wrote to the general Comentiolus to betray the people of Thrace to the barbarians.'

176 Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 317 (= De insidiis 107) (Roberto 546).

177 Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 318 (= De insidiis 108) (Roberto 548).

178 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6093 – 6094 embeds more elaborate versions of both the riot (de Boor 283) and the dream (ibid. 285), which he has interpolated within the account of Theophylact. The derivation of Theophanes' version of Maurice's sin (AM 6092, de Boor 278 – 280) is more complex, since he inverts the sequencing of Ps.-John (alleging that Maurice ordered Comentiolus to betray the armies of Thrace, and that he later refused to ransom Roman solders from the Avars) and perhaps here depends on the late eighth-century 'Great Chronographer' as extracted in a manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle (reproduced in Dindorf 694 – 695). For this dependence see M. Whitby, The Great Chronographer and Theophanes. *BMGS* 8 (1983) 1 – 20, esp. 3 – 8. Idem, Theophanes' chronicle source for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius, and Maurice (A.D. 565 – 602). *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 312 – 345, at 338 – 340, 343 – 344, further hypothesises that similarities between Theophanes and Ps.-John are to be explained through the latter's dependence on a Constantinopolitan chronicle which also served (along with a posited Life of Maurice – cf. below p. 821) as the basis for the same Great Chronographer. Presuming that

The thematic correlation between Theophylact and Ps.-John suggests an effort, coordinated at the Heraclian court, to frame the reign of Maurice in particular terms. Indeed within the Greek tradition, this effort seems to have been a remarkable success. In the corpus of Anastasius of Sinai we encounter three vignettes connected to Maurice's death. The first occurs in the *Questions and Answers* (*c.* 700), where Anastasius narrates in passing, as an example of those who swap a bitter death for salvation, that aforementioned dream of Maurice – also present in Ps.-John, and thence in Theophanes – in which God commands that he be delivered to Phocas.[179] The second and third occur in the two collections of Anastasius's *Tales* (*c.* 670–*c.* 690).[180] In the first collection, an ascetic tells of a secretive monk on Sinai whom, after his death, certain people claimed him to be 'the son of Maurice whom his nurse saved from the massacre at the Hippodrome by exchanging her own son', and who had become an ascetic in order to atone for the nurse's child.[181] Then, in the second collection, Anastasius narrates a remarkable and otherwise unique anecdote which imagines the emperors' entrance into heaven as a procession into an imperial palace. In this 'Leontius the

the extant fragments of Ps.-John have not been simplified and distorted (which is quite possible), an alternative hypothesis is that Theophanes depends upon a later elaboration of his full text, perhaps via the Great Chronographer.

179 Anastasius Sinaita, Questions and Answers 30, ed. M. Richard / J. A. Munitiz, Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et Responsiones. *CCSG*, 59. Turnhout 2006, 80 – 81: 'For when the emperor Maurice asked God to be recompensed in this world for the sins which he had himself committed, he saw in a dream a certain, most glorious emperor ordering that he be handed over to the soldier Phocas – and so it happened.'

180 I here follow B. Flusin, Démons et Sarrasins: l'auteur et le propos des Diêgêmata stêriktika d'Anastase le Sinaïte. *TM* 11 (1991) 380 – 409, esp. 393 – 394, and A. Binggeli, Anastase le Sinaïte: Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l'âme: édition, traduction, commentaire. unpublished PhD dissertation, Paris IV (2001) II 331 – 340, who identify the authors of the two collections and suggest that both were produced in the period *c.* 670–c. 690. Note, however, that K.-H. Uthemann, Anastasios Sinaites: Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft. *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, 125. Berlin 2015, I 367 – 463 has since restated the differentiation of the two authors, and attributed the first collection to a different Anastasius writing in the period before 629. However his various arguments against a date in the Arab period are in each case the least economical interpretation of the evidence, and his identification of the first collection's higoumen John with the higoumen John who received a letter of Gregory the Great in 600 (and with John Climacus), presents more problems than a simple acknowledgement of an earlier and later John.

181 Anastasius of Sinai, Tales 1.39, ed. Binggeli, Anastase I 214 (I cite this edition as the most accessible and up-to-date version, but cf. the criticisms of Uthemann, Anastasios Sinaites esp. 463 – 582). The same anecdote appears in Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27 (Breydy 118), who probably here depends on Anastasius; see Binggeli, Anastase II 524.

Neapolitan' recounts how his spiritual master had been a friend of Maurice, and how when the emperor died, the elder called upon God to reveal to him his current condition. One night, he saw himself in 'a most glorious place, like an imperial palace,' and heard the voice of an emperor, concealed within the palace, summoning by name the Roman emperors 'who had ruled piously'. First came Constantine, bearing the True Cross along with Helena. Then came a procession of the (unnamed) 'worthy' emperors, stretching to Tiberius. At this, however, the voice became lower and more strained, and beckoned Maurice enter. Thus the latter entered along with his wife and children, and seeing the elder 'before the doors', the emperor ordered his family to do obeisance to him, 'For because of him, the alone good and philanthropic master has opened up to us.'[182] The implication therefore, is that the emperor had done something to exclude him from heaven – but that he is able to enter through the intercession of the elder.[183]

Maurice appears in two further places in Anastasius's corpus. Elsewhere in the *Tales*, he relates the tale of magician, Mesites, who lived at Constantinople under Maurice;[184] and in his *Sixth Homily on the Psalms*, he recounts an anecdote about a brigand and murderer in Thrace whom 'the pious Maurice' brought to heel, and who then repented.[185] It has therefore been suggested that he has access to an independent source on Maurice, and even that the reign of Maurice –

182 Anastasius of Sinai, Tales 2.24 (Binggeli, Anastase I 255).
183 See also the extended version of the same tale at Q42 (De non iucando) in the so-called 'Collection B' of Anastasius of Sinai, Questions and Answers, published as Appendix 18.6 – 7 in Richard / Munitiz, Quaestiones and responsiones (as footnote 179 above) 198 – 200. Q 39 – 42 are often transmitted in long and short recensions as the separate treatise De dignitate sacerdotali, of which there is a partial edition in F. Nau, Le text grec de récits utile à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte). *Oriens Christianus* (1903) 56 – 90, at 79 – 84, nos 54 – 56. Richard / Munitiz, and before M. Richard, Les textes hagiographiques du codex Athos Philothéou 52. *AB* 93 (1975) 147 – 156 doubt, without much justification, the authenticity of the treatise, as now does Uthemann, Anastasios Sinaites II 788 – 790; contra Binggeli, Anastase I 146 – 152, II 411 – 415, who argues that the *De dignitate sacerdotali* is authentic and dates it to the 690s. This version gives a far clearer sense of Maurice's sin, combining the tradition of Maurice's letter to the churches (as contained in Theophylact, and thence in Theophanes) with that of his betrayal of the armies in the Balkans (as contained in Theophanes, perhaps via Ps.-John of Antioch).
184 Anastasius of Sinai, Tales 2.18. For the same cf. again Q 42 in 'Collection B', published as Appendix 18.10 – 12 in Richard / Munitiz, Quaestiones and responsiones (as footnote 179 above) 201 – 202. For the same magician (placed under Justinian and called, in Ethiopic, Māsidis) cf. John of Nikiu, Chronicle 90 (Zotenberg 155 – 156).
185 Anatasius of Sinai, Sixth Homily on the Psalms, *PG* 1116 – 1144, at 1140AB. For the same tale cf. Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 26 (Breydy 113 – 115); who must depend here on Anastasius's sermon (Binggeli, Anastate le Sinaïte I 524).

in contrast to that of the demagogue Phocas,[186] or the heretic Heraclius[187] – represents for Anastasius 'un âge d'or de la romanité.'[188] The amorphous and discordant nature of Anastasius's materials on Maurice make it improbable that all derive from a single source; but it is nevertheless evident that he is conscious of a cluster of Constantinopolitan traditions (the divine dream; the sins and penitence of Maurice; the ruse of the nurse) around Maurice's death. At the same time however, if the latter's reign was indeed perceived as a lost golden age, then Anastasius cannot have understood either the origins or meaning of his anecdotes. For those two which relate visions connected to Maurice's death – the procession of emperors into heaven; and God's deliverance of the emperor to Phocas – are both based in the traditions of Maurice's sin and subsequent penitence, and serve to reinforce the rhetoric of the Heraclian court: that is, that Maurice had surrendered his right both to rule and to perpetuate his line, and that in murdering him Phocas, for all his subsequent failings, was in effect the executor of both natural and divine justice.

This reframing of Maurice's rule did not go unnoticed in the Sasanian world. In 1902 François Nau edited, from a single Syriac manuscript of East Syrian provenance, a short treatise or extract devoted to Maurice's death. The text commences with a brief account of the emperor's life – which he divides between the business of empire and the practice of prayer – but then moves to his death. In old age the emperor petitions God to punish him in this life for his sins, and not to deprive him of the highest rank in heaven. An angel then appears and reveals that his sin has prevented him from attaining perfection, but that he has nevertheless attained something of the lot of the saints, and that if he wants to prolong both his rule and the lives of his children, then he will cease from his petition. If, however, he still desires punishment in the here-and-now, and the subsequent attainment of perfection, he will lose the empire and his eight children will be massacred. Maurice assents to the punishment. At this, Phocas launches his rebellion, proclaiming, to the apparent acceptance of all Romans, the emperor's incompetence and failure to maintain the empire. Maurice is arrested, and seven of his children are murdered in front of him. The emperor, however, then reveals that an eighth is living with his nurse who, before Phocas' agents arrive, substitutes her own son in the infant's stead. When those agents return with the child, however, Maurice discloses the nurse's decep-

186 Cf. Anastasius of Sinai, Questions and Answers 65.
187 See e.g. Anastasius of Sinai, Against the Monotheletes 1.18–83, ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN in Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei. *CCSG*, 12. Turnhout 1985, 35–83, at 56–59.
188 BINGGELI, Anastase II 525.

tion, and the true son is fetched and also murdered. At last, Maurice, his hands bound behind his back, is placed upon a boat, which is set upon the sea and set ablaze. The fire burns through his bonds, and he ends his life with his hands raised to God, giving thinks that he has received such grace.[189]

It seems probable that the text had its origin at the Sasanian court, as Khusrau sought to transform the murdered emperor into a saint, and thus to validate his claim to act as Maurice's avenger.[190] But the precise target of the text seems more pointed still. The introduction and conclusion of the text presents us with Maurice as ascetic and martyr, in a manner unparalleled in other texts,[191] and here the emperor's murder, alongside his children, achieves less the expiation of some terrible sin than promotion to a higher form of sainthood. But the core of the text is nevertheless comprised of motifs familiar from the Greek texts discussed above: the divine revelation of death and its stoical acceptance; the intimation of some failure of governance, and the Romans' consent to their emperor's fate; and the slaughter of all the emperor's sons, including the infant whom the nurse had attempted to protect. We might regard the text, therefore, as a deliberate reworking of, and response to, ideas emanating from the Constantinopolitan court, which sought not so much to celebrate as to delegitimise Maurice's rule.[192] Can we be more precise? It is difficult to imagine that the

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189 F. Nau, Les légendes syriaques d'Aaron de Saroug, de Maxime et Domèce, d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma, et de l'Empereur Maurice. *PO* 2, at 773 – 778 with 767 on the ms. (Paris syr. 309 ff. 313 – 317). For the positive image of Maurice see also Agapius, Universal History (Vasiliev III 439). Note that Eutychius of Alexandria, Annals (Alexandrian Recension) 27 (Breydy 118) has a different account of Maurice's death, at the hands of an aggrieved servant whom Phocas had paid off.

190 On the sanctification of Maurice in this text see e. g. J. Wortley, The legend of the emperor Maurice, in: Actes du Congrès International d'Études Byzantines. Athens 1980, 382 – 391, at 387 – 389; Whitby, Theophanes' chronicle source (as footnote 178 above) 340; Schreiner, Der brennende Kaiser (as footnote 140 above) 30 – 31.

191 Although see the otherwise unparalleled extract from the lost Life of John the Faster cited in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, ed. E. Lamberz, Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum: Concilii actiones IV–V. *ACO*, III/2. Berlin 2012, 414 calls Maurice 'most just and most clement' and a 'martyr' and Phocas a 'dragon of the depths' and 'tyrant'; trans. R. Price, The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787). Liverpool 2018, I 320. Although the Life might have been interpolated or written at a later stage, this suggests a strand of Heraclian discourse which also saw Maurice as a saint. On possible further witnesses to the Life of John the Faster – a question which deserves more attention – see below note 196.

192 Such a project is perhaps also reflected in the Chronicle of Seert, which is positive about Maurice (55, 70), but then states the following after his murder (78, ed. and trans. Scher 517 – 518): 'Maurice saw in a dream a richly dressed man standing before him, who told him to hold out his hands. Maurice held them out and the man wrote on them four letters in

text remained relevant long after the death of Khusrau (628), and it therefore seems probable that it originated in the reign of Phocas or of Heraclius, when the Romano-Persian war was still ongoing, and when each side was contesting the meaning of Maurice's death.[193] If this is correct, then it suggests that some form of the Roman version was circulating long before its classic articulation in Theophylact's narrative.

Long ago Michael Whitby posited the existence of an independent Greek *Life* of Maurice, 'a collection of hagiographical stories' which served as a source for Theophylact.[194] Although the existence of a formal written '*Life*' is difficult to establish,[195] the repetition and concatenation of the same themes (the failure of Maurice to govern; the divine dream; the penitence and acceptance of death; the nurse's ruse; and the slaughter of all the sons) in otherwise independent but more-or-less contemporaneous sources (Theophylact, Ps.-John of Antioch, the Syriac treatise) is indeed suggestive of a common point of origin, even if the nature of the shared source or sources, whether written or oral, and their transmission to, and reception by, different authors must remain unclear.[196] It is not impossible that that point of origin was the court of Phocas, for it could serve to present him not as the callous murderer of an emperor who was beloved, successful, and unwilling, but as the chosen executor of God's sen-

Greek which meant, "God orders that Phocas reign in the place of Maurice." He had resigned himself to the will of God and had demanded in his prayers that he be punished in this world.'

193 Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 3 dates it to 'about a decade after his death in 602', without comment.

194 See Whitby, Theophanes' Chronicle Source 318 – 319, 335 – 336; and Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 105 – 109.

195 A considerable desideratum in this respect is a full treatment of the interrelations, and possible shared sources (in particular Ps.-John of Antioch), of the treatment of Maurice's reign in the later chronographers (Theophanes, Georgius Monachus, Symeon the Logothete, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Manasses, etc.). For an initial exploration see Wortley, Legend (as footnote 190 above) 383 – 387; and note that the same 'hagiographic' material on Maurice also appears in the Georgian T'ḫrobay didebuli 39 – 50, trans. M. van Esbroeck, Une chronique de Maurice à Héraclius dans un récit des sièges de Constantinople. *Bedi Kartlisa* 34 (1976) 74 – 96, at 89 – 91; for which see also A.M. Schilling, Theodore Studites and the so-called T'ḫrobay Didebuli: a revision of BHG 1060 preserved in Old Georgian and edited by M.G. Džanašvili. *Phasis* 18 (2015) 272 – 300.

196 Cf. Olajos, Sources de Théophylacte (as footnote 48 above) 149 note 668, who follows Wortley, Legend 382 – 383, in thinking that the 'hagiographic' traditions around Maurice was still in formation *c.* 630, and that Theophylact knew them through 'une connaissance orale'. Frendo, History (as footnote 155 above) 155 – 156, suggests that the 'hagiographic Maurice legend' in part depends on the lost Life of John the Faster; but cf. M. Whitby, Greek historical writing after Procopius: variety and vitality, in A. Cameron / L. Conrad, The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. Princeton, NJ 1992, 25 – 80, at 51 note 11.

tence upon one who was hated, failing, and resigned. But even if it did not originate with them, Heraclian authors did not discard it. Rather, it was juxtaposed with a new, excoriating, critique of Phocas, and repurposed less as a defence of usurpation, and more as a comment on Heraclius's comparative success in governing well and thus prolonging his life. The result was far from 'hagiographic'.

Conclusion

When the Persians first reached Chalcedon in 615, the emperor Heraclius is said to have sailed out to a summit, conducted from his boat, with the Persian general Shahin. There, the latter addressed to the emperor a speech in which he emphasised his desire to resurrect that ancient concord between the two great empires, which was conducive to an ordered, contented life. 'This concord,' he proclaims, 'should be as profound as our empires are great; for we know that no other state will ever appear to rival these our empires.' However, if Heraclius pursues conflict, the result will be mutual destruction, and 'our states will be reduced to a wretched and miserable condition.'[197]

The report of this remarkable speech is not, of course, reliable. It derives from a source composed in the reign of Constans II, and with clear knowledge of the Arab conquests.[198] But the principles which it expresses had deep roots within Romano-Persian diplomatic discourse.[199] According to Theophylact, when the refugee Khusrau had in 591 appealed to Maurice in a letter, he pointed to the same principle, that is, that the two empires preside over the civilised world and, together, regulate 'the disobedient and bellicose tribes'.[200] 'It is then fitting,' Khusrau continued, 'for your peaceful providence to give a saving hand to a kingdom that is being ravage and coerced by tyrants, to support a power that is on the point of dissolution, to establish in the Roman state the cause of salvation, as if it were a universal trophy, and to proclaim yourselves the founders, saviours, and physicians of the Persian state.'[201] Soon after, Khus-

197 Nicephorus, Short History 6 (trans. MANGO 45 – 47).
198 See C. ZUCKERMAN, Heraclius and the return of the Holy Cross, in idem (ed.), Constructing the seventh century. *TM* 17 (2013) 197 – 218, at 207; C. BOUDIGNON, Is the patriarch Pyrrhos (638 – 641 and 654) the author of the first part of Nikephoros' Short history (ch. 1 – 32)? (forthcoming).
199 See esp. M. CANEPA, The two eyes of the earth: art and ritual of kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran. Berkeley, CA 2009, esp. 124 – 127.
200 Theophylact, History 4.11.3, trans. WHITBY / WHITBY, Theophlyact 117.
201 Theophylact, History 4.11.8 trans. WHITBY / WHITBY, Theophlyact 118.

rau dispatched ambassadors to Maurice who again insisted on the need for two powers to regulate the world, pointing to the failure of Alexander the Great to establish a universal empire, and warning of the dangers to the Romans if another 'tribe' should take the Persian place.[202] We should not see here, as in Nicephorus, references to the Arabs, however prescient the sentiment.[203] For Theophylact wrote amidst the wreckage of a war in which a Persian alliance with the Avars, and a Roman alliance with the Turks, had almost spelled the end for both empires.[204]

When Heraclius and Shahrbaraz met at Maurice's birth place in 629, the obscure choice of venue was no doubt meant to resonate with the same principles of political co-operation. From the perspective of both the Roman and the Sasanian court, the later reign of Maurice had represented a highpoint in relations between the two great powers, a period of profound peace which the two great generals would now restore. The rendezvous at Arabissus, then, was suffused with memories of Maurice and of Khusrau in 591. Heraclius, for his part, acted out the role of Maurice, the Roman emperor whose armies would soon restore a Persian claimant to Ctesiphon; while Shahrbaraz assumed the role of Khusrau, restoring Christian relics to his Roman counterpart, and perhaps even flirting with the imminent conversion of the Persian state – for the son and heir who restored those relics, the new *patrikios* Niketas, was a Christian.[205] At the same time, the bonds between the two families were confirmed through intermarriage – as had been the case, according to later eastern traditions around Theodosius's sister Maria, in 591 – when Heraclius betrothed his infant son to Nike, the daughter of Shahrbaraz.[206] As if to cap the resonances with Maurice's reign which pervaded the conference, that same son bore an arresting (and not unironic) name – Theodosius.[207]

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202 See Theophylact, History 4.13.4 – 26. On these letters and their authenticity see A. Ciancaglini, Le "lettere persiane" nelle Storie di Teofilatto Simocatta' in: La Persia e Bisanzio. Rome 2004, 639 – 649.
203 See above note 129.
204 Note that Theophylact gives little sense that the principle of mutual protection was debated. Cf. the evident dissent at Khusrau's appeal evident in other texts; see Ps.-Sebēos, History 11 (Abgaryan 76), indicating some dissent in the senate, as also John of Ninkiu, Chronicle 96; Agapoius, History (Vasiliev III 144). See also the comment of Whitby / Whitby, Theophylact 120 notes 47 – 48, on the obfuscation of a long period of debate.
205 On Niketas see Mango, Deux études (as footnote 3 above) 105 – 117.
206 See above p. 782.
207 See above p. ● ● ●. For the filial relationship of Khusrau's son and successor Shiroe with Heraclius, see Nicephorus, Short History 15 – 16 (but cf. Paschal Chronicle [Dindorf 735 – 736], where fraternal language dominates).

In Heraclian literature, the emperor Maurice was nevertheless a complex and equivocal figure who, through his failure to govern, had undone two great achievements which Heraclius would restore: first, the period of profound peace and co-operation with the Persians; and, second, the resuscitation of the principle and modes of Roman filial succession. It has sometimes been supposed that Maurice's reign was exalted in Heraclian culture. But an unambiguous celebration of that reign, in an attempt to accentuate the supposed crimes of Phocas, presented several obvious pitfalls: the antagonising of those who remembered the period in more prosaic or positive terms; the problematising of perceptions of Khusrau and his war; and the creating of an unfortunate contrast with Heraclius's own tumultuous reign. The nature of our narrative sources for the three decades after Maurice's death – for the most part products, or reflections, of Heraclian court culture – obscures contemporaneous perceptions of the crucial decades after Maurice's death. But we should remember that Heraclius was an usurper, and that his claim to the throne must have been and remained contentious, in particular once he had presided over the spectacular and unprecedented disasters of the 610s, which included, for example, his personal defeat in battle in 613;[208] the loss and sack of Jerusalem in 614;[209] and the capitulation of Alexandria in 619.[210] From the perspective of the 610s and 620s, therefore, the long reign of Maurice – with all its promise of ongoing peace with the Persians – might have seemed to some a golden age. Hence the pervasive, and for the most part successful, attempts of Heraclian authors to reframe the emperor as, in the end, a relative failure.

Positive reminiscences around Maurice's rule were perhaps concentrated in ongoing rumours that Theodosius, Maurice's heir and co-emperor, had avoided his father's fate. It seems quite evident that Theodosius did in fact survive his father's murder, as Phocas suspected and as texts produced within the sphere of Sasanian influence also alleged. Thus when Heraclius launched his coup from Carthage, it is possible that he was unsure of the emperor's fate, in particular if he was still alive at the siege of Theodosiopolis (*c.* 608). Heraclius might

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208 Ps.-Sebēos, History 34 (Abgaryan 114), with Howard-Johnston in Thomson / Howard-Johnston, Armenian History (as footnote 95 above) II 206 – 208. Cf. Life of Theodore of Sykeon 166.

209 For the sack and its sources see Stoyanov, Defenders (as footnote 12 above) 11 – 23.

210 See R. Altheim-Stiehl, Wurde Alexandreia im Juni 619 n.Chr. durch die Perser erobert? Bemerkungen zur zeitlichen Bestimmung der sāsānidischen Besetzung Ägyptens unter Chosrau II. Parwēz. *Tyche* 6 (1991) 3 – 16.

even have posed as his defender,[211] for the gold and silver coinage of Carthage described above suggests that Theodosius had been held in special affection there,[212] and during his revolt it is notable that the solidi of the Carthaginian and Cypriote mints did not present Heraclius as emperor, but as consul.[213] Nevertheless, in the context of his subsequent rule, when Theodosius was dead but rumours no doubt persisted, there could be no suggestion that the emperor had denied the rightful claimant to the throne. Hence the repeated insistence on Theodosius's death; hence the notion that Theodosius was not full heir to the empire in his father's will; and hence also the parallel suggestion, that Maurice had even so (like Hormizd before him) abrogated the hallowed right of the pious emperor to designate a son as successor.

It is in the narrative of Theophylact, writing at the apex of the Last Great War, that this complex scheme finds its finest and most elaborate expression. Older approaches to Theophylact did much to illuminate his sources for, and reporting of, events, but were little impressed with his skills as a researcher.[214] In some more recent scholarship, however, appreciations of the text as literature, rather than reportage, have produced more positive perspectives – thus the frequent speeches, for example, have been seen as crucial vehicles for a range of sophisticated narratological techniques;[215] while the character of Maurice has been framed not as simple saint, but as a multifaceted tragic hero.[216] This revisionism

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211 This might explain the association made in Ps.-Sebēos' History between the survival of Theodosius and the factional violence which accompanied the Heraclian revolt, in which the Greens (Maurice's colour) supported Heraclius; see above notes 95 – 96. I owe this suggestion to a former student, Mr Joseph Plant.

212 For the suggestion of a connection between Theodosius and a Theoctistus *cubicularius/prepositus baiulus* (i.e. the tutor of an heir) *atque magister militum per Numidiam* featured on two North African seal types, see C. Morrisson / V. Prigent, Les bulles de plomb du Musée national de Carthage, source méconnue pour l'histoire de l'Afrique byzantine (forthcoming). For one Stephanus as baioulos Theodosiou in 602 see Ps.-John of Antioch, Chronicle 318 (Roberto 548); and cf. Theophylact Simocatta, History 8.8.13. I am indebted to Vivien Prigent for these points.

213 See P. Grierson, The consular coinage of "Heraclius" and the revolt against Phocas of 608 – 10. *Numismatic Chronicle* 6/10 (1950) 71 – 93; with C. Morrisson, Du consul à l'empereur: les sceaux d'Héraclius, in C. Sodie / S. Takács (eds), Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December 1999. Aldershot 2001, 257 – 266.

214 See esp. the criticisms of Whitby, Emperor Maurice (as footnote 26 above) 311 – 354; more recently W. Treadgold, The early Byzantine historians. New York, NY 2007, 337 – 340, is also unsympathetic.

215 See e.g. J.D. C. Frendo, Three authors in search of a reader: an approach to the analysis of direct discourse in Procopius, Agathias, and Theophylact Simocatta, in Sode / Takács, Novum Millennium (as footnote 213 above) 123 – 136.

216 See Efthymiadis, Historian (as footnote 17 above).

has done much to rehabilitate the reputation of Theophylact, and to advance the appreciation of the text on its own terms. But in uncovering these complexities, it is crucial that we not lose sight of the particular context in which he wrote – as a dependant of the Heraclian regime, and in that remarkable period in which the Roman and Persian eminences once again returned to rapprochement and co-operation. Theophylact's interest in the reign of Maurice was not that of a mere antiquarian, but nor was it that of a simple moralist. For in his hands, and in those of his contemporaries, the rule of Maurice became a looking glass upon the reign of Heraclius, and on the interconnected themes of pious governance, international politics, and dynastic power. Those reflections are testament to a short, tragic moment on the eve of the Arab conquests, a moment in which contemporaries could, for the last time, express some confidence in the immemorial world order, and in the perpetuation of two ancient empires which in fact stood on the precipice.

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Gunnar Brands

Der Felsen des Unheils. Die Eroberung Antiochias durch die Perser im Jahre 540

Mit Tafeln VII–XI

Marie-Theres Fögen (1946 – 2008)
zum Gedenken

Abstract: The Persian sack of Antioch on the Orontes in 540 was a severe blow to the military prestige of the Roman Empire. While the dramatic circumstances of the city's capture are fully depicted by Procopius, the exact location of the fatal Persian attack remains controversial. The paper traces Procopius' highly debated account of the city's conquest in the light of recent topographical and archaeological fieldwork.

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Im Frühsommer 540 eröffnete König Chusro I. mit dem Überschreiten des Euphrat den Zweiten Persischen Krieg (540 – 562).[1] Unter Umgehung des schwer befes-

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1 Zum Perserkrieg und dem Feldzug von 540 vgl. E. STEIN, Histoire du Bas-Empire. Paris 1949, 489 f.; J. A. S. EVANS, The age of Justinian: the circumstances of imperial power. London 1996, 155 – 157; G. DOWNEY, A history of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab conquest. Princeton

tigten Circesium (ar-Raqqa) und nach einem halbherzigen Versuch, sich des unbedeutenden Zenobia zu bemächtigen, stieß das persische Heer, dem Südufer des Euphrat folgend, zunächst bis zur Garnisonsstadt Sura vor, die nach kurzem, erbitterten Widerstand und vergeblichen Verhandlungen schließlich eingenommen wurde. Hierapolis, Hauptstadt der Eparchie Euphratesia und Sitz des Oberkommandierenden Buzēs musste sich durch Lösegeldzahlungen freikaufen.[2] Nachdem auch Beroia (Aleppo) kampflos gefallen war, entschloss sich Chusro, durch den unerwartet erfolgreichen Verlauf des Feldzugs ermutigt, dazu, auf Antiochia vorzurücken, das nach erfolglosen Verhandlungen und einer beherzten, aber allzu selbstgefälligen Verteidigung im Juni 540 von den Persern eingenommen wird. Die Eroberung der Metropole – „a severe blow to both the military prestige of the Roman Empire and the economic prosperity of the metropolis of Syria“[3] – war ein Fanal, dessen Auswirkungen noch Jahrzehnte später spürbar waren.[4]

Die Einnahme der Stadt muss als ein ungeplanter und selbst von den Optimisten in der persischen Führung kaum vorhersehbarer Coup betrachtet werden.[5] Zwar dürfte die Truppenpräsenz in Antiochia wie im übrigen Syrien wegen des

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1961, 542–544; G. Downey, The Persian campaign in Syria in A.D. 540. *Speculum* 28 (1953) 340–348; B. Rubin, RE XXIII 1 (1957) s.v. Prokopios von Kaisareia, 384–387; B. Rubin, Das Zeitalter Justinians, 1. Berlin 1960, 324–335; M. Meier, Das andere Zeitalter Justinians. Kontingenzerfahrung und Kontingenzbewältigung im 6. Jahrhundert n.Chr. *Hypomnemata*, 147. Göttingen 2003, 313–320. – Zum Verlauf, den Hintergründen und Folgen des Feldzugs von 540 und der Eroberung Antiochias zuletzt H. Börm, Der Perserkönig im Imperium Romanum. Chosroes I. und der sasanidische Einfall in das oströmische Reich 540 n.Chr. *Chiron* 36 (2006) 299–328; H. Börm, Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike. *Oriens et Occidens*, 16. Stuttgart 2007, 331–336. – Schriftquellen zum Verlauf der Kampagne von 540 und zur Einnahme Antiochias: G. Greatrex / S. N. C. Lieu, The Roman eastern frontier and the Persian wars, II: AD 363–630. London / New York 2002, 102–114.

2 Den Zustand der Mauern bewertet Prok. BP 2, 6, 3–8 und 2, 6, 21–25, sehr unterschiedlich. Dass sich Chusro I. auf Verhandlungen einlässt, spricht für einen soliden Zustand der Befestigungsanlage.

3 Downey, Campaign (wie oben Fußnote 1) 340; Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 546.

4 Meier, Zeitalter (wie oben Fußnote 1) 316–320; Börm, Perserkönig (wie oben Fußnote 1) 302 Fußnote 14.

5 Chusro selbst spricht – in den Worten Prokops (Prok. BP 2, 9, 3) – von einem mühelosen Erfolg, „nachdem uns Gott ... überraschend den Sieg verliehen hatte“ (πόλιν γὰρ τήνδε, ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ οὖσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπονώτατα μὲν ἑλεῖν ἴσχυσα, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάσαντος ἡμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε δήπου, τὴν νίκην). Allerdings hatte schon der Lahmide al-Mundir seinem Lehnsherren Kavad I. Antiochia als leichte Beute beschrieben, das durch eine schwache Garnison und die Sorglosigkeit seiner Bewohner nur unzureichend gesichert sei (Prok. BP 1, 17, 29–39).

justinianischen Westfeldzuges zum Zeitpunkt der persischen Invasion deutlich reduziert worden sein – scheinbar unbedenklich unter den Bedingungen des ‚Ewigen Friedens' von 532 – und die Stadt noch unter den Folgen der verheerenden Brand- und Erdbebenserie in den zwanziger Jahren gelitten haben. Doch andererseits waren die Befestigungen von Antiochia, wie die der meisten Städte, Garnisonen und kleineren Siedlungen am Euphrat, offenbar in einem verhältnismäßig guten Zustand[6] und damit die Voraussetzungen für die Einnahme der Stadt keineswegs besonders günstig.

Diese Einschätzung ergab sich jedenfalls aus einer Inspektion der Stadtmauern, die ein im Frühjahr 540 von Justinian nach Antiochia entsandter hochrangiger Militär, Germanos, ein Vetter und enger Vertrauter des Kaisers,[7] unmittelbar nach seiner Ankunft durchgeführt hatte.[8] Sowohl der Befestigung in der Ebene, die durch den Orontes geschützt wurde, als auch den „auf felsigem Höhengelände aufragenden Befestigungen" konnte Solidität bescheinigt werden.[9] Eine Ausnahme bildete einzig ein Areal auf dem „Berggipfel ..., den die Bewohner

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6 Vgl. G. Brands, Die Bauornamentik von Resafa-Sergiupolis. Studien zur spätantiken Architektur in Syrien und Nordmesopotamien. *Resafa*, 6. Mainz 2002, 215 f.; B. Croke / J. Crow, Procopius and Dara. *JRS* 73 (1983) 143 – 159; M. Whitby, Procopius and the development of Roman defences in Upper Mesopotamia, in P. Freeman / D. Kennedy (eds.), The defences of the Roman and Byzantine East II. Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the University of Sheffield in April 1986. *BAR-IS*, 297. Oxford 1986, 717 – 735. – Im Frühjahr 531 gab es einen persischen Überfall auf syrisches Territorium (Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1), 532 u. Anm. 129). Als die Einwohner von Antiochia davon erfuhren, brachten sie sich an der Mittelmeerküste in Sicherheit, was nicht für den Glauben an die Sicherheit der Befestigung – oder vielmehr an die Schlagkraft der Garnison? – spricht.

7 Zu Germanos vgl. PLRE II 505 – 507 s.v. Germanus 4; A. Demandt, Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284 – 565 n. Chr. *HdA*, III 6. München 2007, 245.

8 Prok. BP 2, 6, 9 – 15. Germanos wurde von 300 Soldaten begleitet, der „bald ein großes Heer folgen" sollte (Prok. BP 2, 6, 9). – Rubin, Zeitalter (wie oben Fußnote 1) 325 mutmaßt, dass Prokop mit seiner Bemerkung „das Versagen der römischen Führung" ironisiere, was in Hinsicht auf die vollmundige Ankündigung eines Entsatzheeres tatsächlich naheliegt. Offen bleibt, ob auch die Angabe, dass Germanos von einem scheinbar kläglichen Detachement von nur 300 Soldaten begleitet wurde, in demselben Sinne verstanden werden muss (Meier, Zeitalter, wie oben Fußnote 1, 313 Anm. 43). Stein, Histoire (wie oben Fußnote 1) 487 hat in ihr vermutungsweise und einleuchtend die private Leibgarde des Germanos erkennen wollen – er bezeichnet sie als *bucellarii*. Dass es mit der Angabe eine besondere Bewandtnis hat, zeigt sich, wenn die Zahl „300" noch einmal wiederholt wird (Prok. BP 2, 8, 13): 300 Soldaten hätten Prokop zufolge ausgereicht, um den Felsen des Unheils zu besetzen, also die Perserkatastrophe abzuwenden, doch hatte Germanos die Stadt zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits wieder verlassen (Prok. BP 2, 7, 18), nicht ohne die Mehrzahl seiner Begleiter, wohl um die Verteidigung zu unterstützen, in Antiochia zurückzulassen.

9 Prok. BP 2, 6, 10.

Orokassias zu nennen pflegen", dessen Mauer „nur einen ganz geringen Verteidigungswert hat". Bei der von Germanos ausgemachten Schwachstelle im Bereich des Orokassias (Silpios)[10] handelte es sich um einen „Fels, sehr breit und nur um ein weniges niedriger als die Stadtmauer".[11] Seinen Vorschlag, diesen „Fels abzutragen und rings um die Mauer einen tiefen Graben anzulegen, damit niemand von dort aus den Befestigungsring ersteigen könne, oder auf dem Felsen einen stattlichen Turm zu errichten und diesen Bau in die Stadtmauer einzubeziehen", erklärten die Militärarchitekten – im wesentlichen aus Zeitgründen – als undurchführbar, ohne Germanos' Analyse grundsätzlich zu widersprechen. Sollten derartige Baumaßnahmen, so argumentierten sie, angesichts „des unmittelbar drohenden feindlichen Angriffs ... nicht mehr zuende geführt werden" können, müssten die Perser dies als Handlungsanweisung für ihren Angriff verstehen. Die kommenden Ereignisse sollten zeigen, dass es einer solchen Schützenhilfe von römischer Seite nicht bedurfte, zumal die Ostflanke der Stadt seit altersher als die klassische Angriffsrichtung der Perser zu gelten hatte[12].

Die Schilderung Prokops von der angeblichen Schwachstelle auf dem „Berggipfel" des Silpios (Orokassias) klingt auf den ersten Blick wenig plausibel. Prokopskeptiker werden in ihr reine Rechtfertigungsrhetorik erkennen, die den unentschuldbaren Verlust der bedeutendsten römischen Stadt der nördlichen Levante erklären helfen sollte. Topisch mutet die Erzählung nicht zuletzt deshalb an, weil auch an anderer Stelle in Prokops Werk überlange, alte oder unzureichend instandgehaltene Befestigungen herhalten müssen, um die Einnahme von Städten zu erklären, nicht selten gegen anderslautende Evidenz.[13] Unter diesen Umstän-

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10 Zum Toponym Orokassias s. unten Fußnote 18.

11 Prok. BP 2, 6, 11.

12 So etwa bei der Attacke auf Antiochia im mittleren 3. Jh. Die Beschreibungen der militärischen Aktionen, die zur Einnahme führten, sind leider nicht detailliert genug, um sich über Taktik und Verlauf ein genaueres Bild machen zu können. Aus den Angaben in der antiken Literatur (Amm. 23, 5, 2 – 3; Lib. or. 24, 38), dass persische Bogenschützen die im Theater versammelten Einwohner Antiochias von oben herab beschossen, geht immerhin hervor, dass die Stadt – wie im Jahr 540 – auch schon im 3. Jh. von der Bergseite angegriffen wurde; vgl. W. Seyfarth, Ein Handstreich persischer Bogenschützen auf Antiochia. *Klio* 40 (1962) 60 – 64. Die Hauptstreitmacht dürfte, auch dies in Übereinstimmung mit dem Angriff von 540, in der Ebene konzentriert worden sein, wie die Verwendung eines großen Rammbocks (*aries*) erkennen lässt (Amm. 20, 11, 11). – Zur Historizität der Theater-Episode J. Den Boeft / J.W. Drijvers / D. Den Hengst / H.C. Teitler, Philological and historical commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. Groningen 1998, 84 f. – Die umstrittene Frage, wann und wie oft die Stadt von Šāpūr I. eingenommen wurde, erörtern Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 256 – 259. 587 – 595; Den Boeft / Drijvers / Den Hengst / Teitler ebd. 89 f.; T. Glas, Valerian. Kaisertum und Reformansätze in der Krisenphase des Römischen Reiches. Paderborn 2014, 96 f. mit Anm. 16.

13 Vgl. Brands, Resafa (wie oben Fußnote 6) 215 f.

den verwundert es nicht, dass die gesamte Episode in Zweifel gezogen worden ist. Einer der besten Kenner der Stadtgeschichte Antiochias, Glanville Downey, glaubte ideologische Gründe für die Passage ausmachen zu können und bemängelte zudem, dass in der Parallelüberlieferung von dem Felsen des Unheils keine Rede sei.[14] Obwohl sich stets auch Gegenstimmen erhoben,[15] haftet der Felsanekdote bis heute etwas Topisches an. Tatsächlich ist eine Identifizierung des Unheilsfelsens, dessen Topographie bereits seit den 1839 erschienenen *Antiquitates Antiochenae* von Karl Otfried Müller diskutiert wird, bislang nicht gelungen.

Da sich andererseits Prokops näher untersuchte Beschreibungen der justinianischen Baumaßnahmen in Antiochia erwiesenermaßen auf solide Informationen stützen,[16] scheint eine neuerliche Beschäftigung mit dem Thema nicht aussichtslos. Eine Antwort auf die Frage, wo der von Prokop beschriebene Felsen zu lokalisieren ist, an dem sich das Schicksal einer der bedeutendsten Städte des griechisch-römischen Ostens entscheiden sollte, scheint nicht nur unter topographischen Gesichtspunkten lohnend. Sie verspricht, wie sich zeigen wird, zugleich Anhaltspunkte für die noch immer weithin ungeklärte Chronologie der

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14 G. Downey, Procopius on Antioch: a study of method in the „de aedificiis". *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 370f. Anm. 1 berief sich dafür auf die Vita S. Symeonis Stylitae Iunioris 57 (englische Übersetzung bei Greatrex / Lieu, wie Fußnote 1, 104f.), die freilich keinen Bericht der Eroberung, sondern eine Vision des Ereignisses überliefert. Downey hatte Prokops Schilderung deshalb für eine „lokale Tradition oder offizielle Version zur Entlastung Iustinians durch die Kurzsichtigkeit der Erbauer der Mauern" gehalten. Dagegen mit philologischen Argumenten Rubin, Prokopios (wie oben Fußnote 1) 581f.

15 Besonders entschieden Rubin, Prokopios (wie oben Fußnote 1) 581f.; Rubin, Zeitalter (wie oben Fußnote 1) 329 und Anm. 1035. Auch C.O. Müller, Antiquitates Antiochenae. Göttingen 1839, 55 Anm. 10; 125–127 und R. Förster, Antiochia am Orontes. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 12 (1897) 134 hatten an der Passage keinen Anstoß genommen.

16 Ob der Historiker auf Autopsie beruhende Ortskenntnis besaß, ist dabei zweitrangig, auch wenn einiges dafür spricht, dass Prokop Antiochia aus eigener Anschauung kannte (so auch O. Veh (Hrsg.), Prokop III: Perserkriege. München 1970, 488f.; Downey, Procopius (wie oben Fußnote 14) 373f. Anm. 2 vermutet „that at least some of his knowledge of Antioch was obtained either by a visit or from persons who lived there". Prokop dürfte sich zwischen 527 und 531 in der römisch-persischen Grenzregion aufgehalten und den Großteil seiner Ortskenntnisse gesammelt haben (Rubin, Prokopios, wie oben Fußnote 1, 296–300; A. Cameron, Procopius and the sixth century. London 1985, 13f.). – Zu Prokops Schilderung der justinianischen Baumaßnahmen in Antiochia zuletzt G. Brands, Prokop und das Eiserne Tor. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie von Antiochia am Orontes, in I. Eichner / V. Tsamakda (Hrsg.), Syrien und seine Nachbarn von der Spätantike bis in islamische Zeit. Wiesbaden 2009, 9–20; G. Brands, Antiochia in der Spätantike. Prolegomena zu einer archäologischen Stadtgeschichte. *Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen*, 14. Berlin / New York 2016, 37–58.

antiochenischen Mauersysteme zu liefern und könnte nicht zuletzt ein Licht auf Prokop als Quelle für die spätantike Archäologie werfen.[17]

Den Schlüssel zum Verständnis des Themas bietet die bereits erwähnte Schilderung der Mauerinspektion durch Germanos und die von ihm monierte Schwachstelle auf dem „Orokassias". Bei diesem Toponym handelt es sich um einen nur bei Prokop bezeugten Namen für den höheren der beiden Stadtberge, den Silpios.[18] Freilich trifft die Germanos in den Mund gelegte Diagnose eines „geringen Verteidigungswerts" auf die Silpiosmauer nicht zu. Eine derartige Einschätzung ist jedenfalls zu keinem Zeitpunkt geäußert worden und bezeichnenderweise attestiert Germanos selbst den Bergbefestigungen ausdrücklich Solidität[19]. Auch passt die unmittelbar folgende Beschreibung des als bedenklich eingestuften Abschnitts –„... ein Fels, sehr breit und nur um ein weniges niedriger als die Stadtmauer"– topographisch nicht zu der auf dem Kamm geführten Silpiosmauer (Abb. 1).[20] Wenn es in *de aedificiis* zudem heißt, dass Justinian den Felsen bei seinem Wiederaufbau der Mauer „aus dem Spiele ließ" und die neue Befestigungslinie davon soweit wie möglich abrückte[21] – sie verlief, wie wir noch sehen werden, in Verlängerung der alten theodosianischen Mauer auf dem Sil-

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17 Auch wenn den in der älteren Forschung verbreiteten, vernichtenden Urteilen über *De aedificiis* und die politische Wendigkeit ihres Verfassers längst der Boden entzogen ist (vgl. zusammenfassend Rubin, Prokopios, wie oben Fußnote 1, 572 – 574; Cameron, Procopius, wie oben Fußnote 17, 84 – 112; Whitby, Procopius, wie oben Fußnote 6, 717 – 735; Brands, Resafa, wie oben Fußnote 6, 214 – 221), sind auch von archäologischer Seite Zweifel an der „Zuverlässigkeit" von Autor und Werk nie verstummt. Vgl. zuletzt mit wichtigen Gegenbeispielen C. Roueché / J.-M. Carié / N. Duval (Hrsg.), Le De Ædificiis de Procope. Le texte et les réalités documentaires. *Antiquité Tardive*, 8. Turnhout 2001; Brands, Eisernes Tor (wie oben Fußnote 16); G. Greatrex, The date of Procopius' Buildings in the light of recent scholarship. *Estudios Bizantinos* 1 (2013) 13 – 29; J. Pickett, Water and empire in the De Aedificiis of Procopius. *DOP* 71 (2017) 95 – 125.

18 Der nur bei Prokop verbürgte Name ‚Orokas(s)ias' ist vom Berg Kasios abgeleitet, dem südlich von Seleukia Pieria am Meer gelegenen Gipfel des Bergzuges (auch Ğabal al-Aqra'/Kel Dağı), dessen Ausläufer nördlich von Antiochia an die Amuqebene grenzen. Unter dem Begriff Silpios versteht die antike Literatur die beiden Stadtberge, die erstmals bei Prokop (Prok. aed. 2, 10, 16) in den Orokassias/Silpios im Süden und den durch die Parmeniosschlucht davon getrennten Staurin (zum Namen einleuchtend Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 16 Anm. 5, 523, 549 Anm. 196, 610) im Norden geschieden werden. Vgl. zusammenfassend C. Saliou, La montagne d'Antioche et ses désignations. Réflexions sur l'apport des sources textuelles à la connaissance de l'histoire de l'espace urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte: le site de la ville. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 63 (2010/2011) 569 – 578.

19 Prok. BP 2, 6, 10 („und ebenso verwehren die auf felsigem Höhengelände aufragenden Befestigungen den Feinden jeden Zugang").

20 Prok. BP 2, 6, 11.

21 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 9 – 13.

pioskamm – kann es sich bei der Schwachstelle nur um eine Anhöhe handeln, die jenseits, das heißt östlich des Silpios lag, aber geographisch als Teil des Bergmassivs verstanden werden konnte.

Um die Passage in vollem Umfang würdigen zu können, muss man sich in Erinnerung rufen, dass in ihr die Verhältnisse vor der justinianischen Stadtverkleinerung geschildert werden. Die auf Theodosius II. zurückgehende Stadtmauer, die seit dem mittleren 5. Jh. die vom Kaiser initiierte Südstadterweiterung schützte, verlief bergseitig auf dem Hauptkamm des Silpius,[22] um auf Höhe des Südrandes des späteren, mittelbyzantinisch-kreuzfahrerzeitlichen Kastells[23] über stark abschüssiges Terrain nach Osten umzubiegen (Abb. 1). Von diesem, unmittelbar an das Kastell anschließenden Abschnitt konnten erst kürzlich etwa 50 m östlich der Kastellmauer Reste einer bis auf Bodenniveau abgetragenen Mauer entdeckt werden (Abb. 2). Die auf einer Länge von etwa 100 m zu verfolgende Trasse nimmt ihren Ausgang von einem außergewöhnlich großen Eckturm, der heute die Südspitze des Kastells bildet. Die abgetragene Mauer war, soweit ihr Erhaltungszustand dies erkennen lässt, kaum 1,50 m dick und besaß einen Kern aus Mörtelmauerwerk, das mit kleinformatigen Ziegelbrocken durchsetzt war.[24] Diese Mauer setzt sich über die Seitenschlucht des Parmenios fort und verläuft von dort, auch heute noch partienweise bis in eine Höhe von 7,00 m erhalten, am Südrand des Parmeniosmassivs (Nacar Dağı/Nacardağı, Sementepe) entlang. An seiner Ostflanke quert die Mauer die Parmeniosschlucht, um sich auf der Staurinseite mit der alten, im Kern hellenistischen Stadtmauer zu vereinigen, die Plateau und Sattel des nördlichen Stadtberges umschließt.[25]

In Ergänzung zu der Schilderung in den Perserkriegen heißt es in *de aedificiis* von der Schwachstelle, dass sich „unmittelbar an der Außenseite der Mauer eine Klippe“ erhob, „die ebenso hoch wie der Befestigungsring war und einen Angriff darauf sehr erleichterte“.[26] Prokop fügt hinzu, dass „das Gelände innerhalb des Mauerrings … hingegen ganz verlassen und schwer zugänglich (war). Hohe Felsen

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22 Die älteren Mutmaßungen zur Chronologie dieses Mauerabschnitts werden jetzt bekräftigt durch C. Brasse, Das Befestigungssystem von Antiochia am Orontes (Dissertation, BTU Cottbus, Fachgebiet Baugeschichte, 2017). Die Publikation der Arbeit ist in Vorbereitung.
23 Zum Kastell bislang nur T. A. Sinclair, Eastern Turkey. An architectural and archaeological survey, 4. London 1990, 244 – 248. Die baugeschichtliche Untersuchung des Kastells von T. Biller und T. Radt sowie eine ausführliche Kommentierung der Schriftquellen durch K.-P. Todt und B. A. Vest) wird in der Antiochia-Publikation vorgelegt (s. oben vor Fußnote 1).
24 Die Vorlage des Befundes erfolgt im Zusammenhang mit der Abschlusspublikation des Antiochia-Projekts.
25 Am nördlichen Staurinrand verliert sich ihre Spur. Ihr Verlauf in der Ebene ist archäologisch bislang nicht nachweisbar.
26 Prok. aed. 2,10,10 – 11.

und ausweglose Schluchten bilden jenen Platz und sperren die dortigen Wege, so als befinde sich hier eine fremde und nicht die den Einwohnern Antiocheias gehörige Mauer“.[27]

Die Schilderung der Topographie lässt für die Identifizierung des Unglücksfelsens wenig Spielraum. Gemeint ist, wie der neue Stadtplan zum ersten Mal deutlich erkennen lässt (Abb. 1–3),[28] offenbar der zum Silpios zu rechnende Mauerabschnitt im Bereich des Parmeniosmassivs,[29] der tatsächlich „nur um ein weniges niedriger als die Stadtmauer“ ist.[30] An seiner Südflanke wird das an dieser Stelle bis zu 390 m hohe Areal in einer Entfernung von nur 140 m sogar von einer kleinen, auf knapp über 406 m Höhe liegenden Kuppe überragt (406,5 üNN), die eine feindliche Annäherung erheblich erleichtert haben dürfte und zudem Einblick in das Terrain innerhalb der Mauer gewährte (Abb. 5.6).

Die Schilderung des persischen Angriffs liefert weitere Argumente für die vorgeschlagene Identifizierung des verhängnisvollen Felsens mit der ‚Höhe 406‘. Ihr Lager schlagen die persischen Truppen, wie Prokop berichtet, „am Orontes oder nicht weit davon entfernt“ auf.[31] Erst nachdem Verhandlungen über Tributzahlungen im Sande verlaufen waren und die Provokationen durch die Stadtbewohner überhand nahmen, entschließt sich Chusro zum Angriff. Während einige Einheiten gegen die Mauern in der Ebene vorgehen, „stürmte er selbst mit den stärksten und besten Verbänden gegen den Berggipfel“.[32] Ein Angriffsschwerpunkt lag also, wie schon bei der Eroberung der Stadt durch Šāpūr I. in den

27 Dem Leser wird mit dem Hinweis auf die taktisch fragwürdige Mauerführung Antiochias ein Argument für die nicht sonderlich prestigeträchtige Verkleinerung der Stadt geliefert, die Justinian nach dem Abzug der Perser vornimmt (s. unten).

28 Der von U. Weferling und seinem Team erstellte Stadtplan (1 : 5.000) wird im Band I des Antiochia-Projekts vorgelegt (s. oben vor Fußnote 1).

29 Der Mauerabschnitt, der Germanos und seine Ingenieure beunruhigt, liegt also nicht *auf* dem Gipfel des Orokassias, sondern er war von dort aus sichtbar (Prok. BP 2, 6, 10: … ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος, ἣν δὴ Ὀροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασιν, ἐπιμαχώτατον κατενόησεν ὂν τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τεῖχος); Prok. aed. 2, 10, 9: ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ ἥνπερ Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, πέτρα τις τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνταῦθα κειμένη καὶ λίαν ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτὸν τιθεμένη).

30 Prok. BP 2, 6, 11.

31 Prok. BP 2, 8, 3.

32 Prok. BP 2, 8, 8 (Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπαγαγὼν ἅπαντας Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλῃ προσβάλλειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν προσέβαλλε). Ob angesichts des Terrains mit τοὺς πλείστους tatsächlich die zahlenmäßig stärksten Einheiten gemeint sind, muss trotz des in diese Richtung zielenden Wortlauts dahingestellt bleiben.

50er Jahren des 3. Jhs.,[33] an der Ostseite der Stadtbefestigung, dort, wo heute die Straße nach Altınözü verläuft (Abb. 1).[34]

Prokop wiederholt in diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal seine Einschätzung, dass „dort … (sc. auf dem Berggipfel), wie schon von mir berichtet, die Stadtmauer am leichtesten anzugreifen“ war.[35] Das Problem bestand, so präzisiert er, in einem Felsen, „breit und hoch und der Stadtmauer gleichsam gegenübergelagert“.[36] Die weiteren Schilderungen lassen erkennen, dass der Felsen die Stadtmauer überragte, denn die Perser beschießen die Verteidiger „vom Gipfel des Berges herab“.[37] Diese Bedrohung hätte Prokop zufolge durch eine Besetzung des vorgelagerten Felsens verhindert werden können, denn nur er bot den Persern einen „Ausgangspunkt für ihren Angriff“, andernfalls wären sie „sowohl vom Felsen wie von der Stadtbefestigung aus aufs Haupt getroffen worden …“.[38] Handelt es sich bei dem genannten Felsen tatsächlich um die ‚Höhe 406‘, dürfte sich das Problem dadurch verschärft haben, dass er Einblick in die Bereiche innerhalb der Stadtmauer gewährte und damit die römischen Verteidigungsbemühungen durchschaubar machte (Abb. 2, 3, 6).

Der Ort des Angriffs war auch in anderer Hinsicht gut gewählt. Denn zum einen bot das zerklüftete Parmeniosmassiv den Verteidigern wenig Raum für die Stationierung größerer Truppenkontingente (Abb. 3, 4). Noch schwerer wog, dass der östlich anschließende, seit hellenistischer Zeit besiedelte Staurinsattel in der Spätantike kaum noch flächendeckend genutzt worden sein dürfte,[39] worunter die Bauinstandhaltung im gesamten bergseitigen Teil der Stadt gelitten haben könnte.

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33 s. oben Fußnote 12.

34 Die Straße nach Altınözü (vormals Suriye/Sossim: dazu zuletzt K.-P. Todt / B. A. Vest, Syria. *TIB* 15/2. Wien 2014, 825, 1753 f.) könnte auch bereits in der Spätantike als Zubringer zu der von Daphne ausgehenden Straße nach Laodikeia/al-Lāḏiqīya gedient haben, erschloss aber sicher die Ortschaften östlich von Antiochia und ermöglichte deren Bewohnern von Osten her Zugang zum Stadtgebiet. Ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf ist der Weg, der von der Altınözü-Straße abzweigend durch die Parmeniosschlucht in das Stadtgebiet führte und durch die Toranlage am ‚Eisernen Tor‘ gesichert wurde.

35 Prok. BP 2, 8, 8. Prokop bezieht sich hier auf die zuvor (Prok. BP 2, 6, 9 – 15) geschilderte Inspektion durch Germanos (s. o.).

36 Prok. BP 2, 8, 12: ἡ γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρεῖά τις καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὖσα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περιβόλῳ καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ὁμαλοῦ εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐποίει.

37 Prok. BP 2, 8, 10 – 14.

38 Prok. BP 2, 8, 13 – 14. Rubin, Prokopios (wie oben Fußnote 1) 384 glaubt, dass „dieses und ähnliche Urteile … von Belisar stammen“ könnten.

39 Der Keramikbefund erbrachte eine signifikante Abnahme von Formen des 6. Jh.s gegenüber hoch- und spätkaiserzeitlichen Formen (H. Pamir / G. Brands / F. Çevrici, Hatay İli, Antakya ve Samandağ Yüzey Araştırmaları 2006. Archäologische Untersuchungen im Stadtgebiet von Antiochia am Orontes/Antakya 2006. *25. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 3. Ankara 2008, 407 – 409).

Da das Areal des südwestlich anschließenden Parmeniosmassivs insgesamt schwer zugänglich war und deshalb vielleicht als wenig gefährdet galt, ist nicht auszuschließen, dass auch seine Mauern nicht in bestem Zustand oder befestigungstechnisch veraltet waren. Darauf deuten jedenfalls die improvisierten Maßnahmen, mit denen die Antiochener die Befestigung eilends verstärkten, indem sie die Lauffläche der Wehrgänge mit Hilfe einer Holzkonstruktion erweiterten.[40] Nach dem Einsturz dieser behelfsmäßigen Kampfplattformen kam es zu einer Panik unter den Verteidigern, die die Perser zur Erstürmung der Mauern nutzten.

Mit der Eroberung des Mauerabschnitts auf dem Parmeniosmassiv war freilich die Stadt noch nicht endgültig gewonnen. Die Perser waren sich ihrer Sache denn auch keineswegs sicher und zögerten ihren Abstieg in die Stadt heraus, „denn innerhalb der Stadtmauer kommt man gleich beim Abstieg von der Höhe weithin in unbewohntes Gebiet mit hochaufragenden Felsen und abschüssigen Stellen“[41] – gemeint ist, wie sich gleich zeigen wird, offenbar die Parmeniosschlucht. Um beim Vormarsch auf das Stadtzentrum in diesem – noch weitere Male ausdrücklich als tückisch charakterisierten[42] – Gelände nicht mit römischen Hinterhalten konfrontiert zu werden,[43] gibt Chusro den römischen Truppen zunächst die Gelegenheit, sich ungehindert zurückziehen und die Stadt durch das Südtor, in Richtung Daphne, zu verlassen.[44] Erst als er die Stadt ohne militärischen Schutz durch reguläre Truppen weiß, lässt er seine Soldaten „von der Höhe zur Stadtmitte heruntersteigen“.[45] Dass man in das geographische und administrative Zentrum der Stadt von der Ostseite her nur durch die Parmeniosschlucht gelangt, darf als Bestätigung für die Vermutung gewertet werden, dass der Ort des entscheidenden persischen Durchbruchs im Bereich des die Schlucht überragenden Parmeniosmassivs zu suchen ist.

Beiläufig klärt sich auf diese Weise eine für die Chronologie der Stadtmauern zentrale Frage. Hätte zum Zeitpunkt der persischen Eroberung bereits eine Stadtmauerquerung auf Höhe des Eisernen Tores, das heißt im zentralen Bereich

40 Prok. BP 2, 8, 9. In Prokops Beschreibung ist etwas unspezifisch von dem „Bauwerk, auf dem sich die Römer zum Kampf aufstellen sollten“, die Rede (ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι – στενοτάτη γὰρ ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα ἐφ’ ἧς ἱστάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλον – ἐπενόησαν τάδε), doch kann dem Kontext nach damit nur die Stadtmauer gemeint sein.

41 Prok. BP 2, 8, 21.

42 Prok. BP 2, 8, 23; Prok. aed. 2, 10, 11 – 12.

43 Prok. BP 2, 8, 20.

44 Prokops Angabe (Prok. BP 2, 8, 25) deutet darauf hin, dass das persische Lager an der Nordseite der Stadt und am Westufer des Orontes aufgeschlagen worden war.

45 Prok. BP 2, 8, 27 (… καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο).

der Parmeniosschlucht existiert, wie sie für die zweite Bauphase des Bauwerks nachgewiesen ist,[46] hätte für die römischen Truppen und die Bürgerwehr noch eine weitere Rückzugsmöglichkeit vor den nachrückenden Persern bestanden. Doch davon berichtet Prokop bezeichenderweise nichts. Sein Schweigen ist ein wichtiges Argument für die Datierung der zweiten Bauphase des Eisernen Tores und der mit ihm zusammenhängenden ‚Nordmauer', [47] die demnach erst nach 540, das heißt im Zuge der justinianischen Wiederaufbaumaßnahmen nach dem Abrücken der Perser entstanden sein können.

Nachdem der erste Versuch der Perser, in der Stadt Fuß zu fassen, am erbitterten Widerstand einer jugendlichen ‚Stadtguerilla' gescheitert war,[48] empfängt der König in einem – leider nicht lokalisierbaren – „Turm auf der Höhe" die römischen Gesandten.[49] Während der Unterredung erreicht den Großkönig die Nachricht von der endgültigen Einnahme der Stadt.[50] Von der anschließenden Plünderung und Brandschatzung Antiochias blieb Prokop zufolge neben einer Kirche und einigen Häusern im Kerataionviertel nur die Stadtmauer verschont.[51]

Folgt man Prokop, ist das alte Antiochia im Juni 540 untergegangen. Bei einer Beurteilung des Sachverhalts wird man indes berücksichtigen müssen, dass die

46 Vgl. Brands, Eisernes Tor (wie oben Fußnote 16) 12 – 16.

47 s. unten S. 840.

48 Prok. BP 2, 8, 28 – 29. Das letzte Aufgebot bildeten „unbeschadet ihres etwaigen Milizcharakters nicht vom Militär regelrecht übernommene und sachverständig eingeteilte Zivilisten" (Rubin, Prokopios, wie oben Fußnote 1, 385), sondern spontane Trupps von Jugendlichen, die sich aus Mitgliedern von Zirkusparteien rekrutierten. Zur militärischen Verwendbarkeit von „Sportfans" für die Stadtverteidigung vgl. K.-P. Todt, Sportkrawalle im frühen Byzanz (5.–7. Jh.). *Thetis* 20 (2013) 163 – 187, bes. 176 – 180.

49 Prok. BP 2, 8, 30 (… ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν..). Ob damit einer der Türme der gerade eroberten Mauer oder ein Kommandoturm auf dem Areal des Parmeniosmassivs gemeint ist, muss offenbleiben. Man könnte auch an den heute weitgehend zerstörten Turm an der Südseite des Kastells denken, der sowohl die bergseitige Befestigung als auch die Stadt und die Orontes- und Amuqebene überblickt.

50 Prok. BP 2, 8, 33 – 35.

51 Prok. BP 2, 9, 14 – 18; 2, 10, 6 – 8; Prok. aed. 2, 10, 19 – 25. – Kirche: In Prok. BP 2, 9, 14 – 18 ist von ἐκκλησία die Rede, was Dewing mit „Kirche", Veh dagegen mit „Hauptkirche" übersetzt. Auch Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 544 geht davon aus, dass es sich bei der von Prokop genannten Kirche um das Hauptheiligtum der Stadt, das von Konstantin I. errichtete ‚Goldene Oktogon' handelte, das beim Erdbeben von 526 zugrundeging und dessen Neubau 537/38 geweiht worden war. Vgl. zuletzt W. Mayer / P. Allen, The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300 – 638 CE). Leuven / Paris / Walpole 2012, 68 – 80. – Kerataion: Zu dessen Lokalisierung vgl. Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 544. 615. – Stadtmauer: Prok. BP 2, 10, 9 (τοῦ μέντοι περιβόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι).

Stadt kurz zuvor durch eine Brand- und Erdbebenserie in den Jahren 525, 526 und 528 bereits wiederholt schwer in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden war,[52] so dass die Perser wahrscheinlich eine halbzerstörte Stadt vorfanden, die verhältnismäßig leicht „dem Erdboden gleichzumachen“ war.[53] Bei dem Wiederaufbau, der sich unmittelbar anschloss,[54] wurden im wesentlichen zwei Konsequenzen aus der Katastrophenserie der 520er Jahre und dem Perserdebakel gezogen, die mittelbar zusammenhingen.

Von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung war zum einen die Verkleinerung des hellenistisch-hochkaiserzeitlichen Stadtareals, die ausdrücklich auf bessere Verteidigungsfähigkeit abzielte (Abb. 1).[55] Prokop begründet die Maßnahme damit, dass die Stadt „seit alters ... eine überlange Mauer mit sehr vielen Ausbuchtungen“ besaß und deshalb „ohne rechten Sinn teils Ebenen, teils Felsgipfel einschloss“.[56] Seine Einschätzung kann indes nicht grundsätzlich Gültigkeit beanspruchen, sondern allenfalls für die Spätantike zutreffen. Denn die Verkleinerung der Befestigung in der Ebene „zum Stadtkern hin“[57] wurde erst zu einem Zeitpunkt möglich und nötig, als die ‚Orontesinsel‘ wie überhaupt das nördliche Stadtgebiet weitgehend menschenleer oder doch nur noch schwach besiedelt waren. Das mag eine Folge der Katastrophenserie zwischen 525 und 540 gewesen sein, doch könnte die Entwicklung bereits früher eingesetzt haben.[58] Es spricht einiges dafür, dass die ‚Orontesinsel‘, die aufgrund ihrer großflächigen öffentlichen Bebauung seit jeher schwächer besiedelt gewesen muss als der Rest des Stadtgebietes, spätestens mit dem schweren Erdbeben des Jahres 458 ihre vormalige Bedeutung einbüßte und nicht mehr in großem Stil bebaut und genutzt wurde.[59]

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52 Vgl. Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 519 – 533.
53 Prok. BP 2, 10, 5.
54 Zusammenfassend Brands, Prolegomena (wie oben Fußnote 16) 37 – 58.
55 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 2 – 14.
56 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 3: ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ περίβολος μακρός τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ περιόδων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως, πῆ μὲν τὰ πεδία περιβάλλων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πῆ δὲ τὰς τῶν σκοπέλων ὑπερβολάς, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πλείοσιν ἐπιβουλαῖς ὑποκείμενος.
57 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 5.
58 Die Erweiterung Antiochias nach Süden, die wahrscheinlich unter Theodosius II. vorgenommen wurde (vgl. Downey, History, wie oben Fußnote 1, 451 f.; Brands, Prolegomena, wie oben Fußnote 16, 30 – 37), könnte bereits eine Reaktion auf die nachlassende Bedeutung des nördlichen Stadtgebietes, d. h. der ‚Orontesinsel‘ und der östlich anschließenden Stadtquartiere gewesen sein.
59 Zum Erdbeben und seinen Folgen Downey, History (wie oben Fußnote 1) 476 – 480. Aus der Zeit nach 458 existieren, abgesehen von dem Katastrophenbericht des Evagrius, Historia Ecclesiastica 2, 12 nur noch zwei Belege, die eine gewisse Nutzung des Areals bezeugen. Vgl. Brands, Prolegomena (wie oben Fußnote 16) 40 f.

Unabhängig davon, ob mit der Verkleinerung der Stadt letztlich nur die Konsequenzen aus einer demographisch indizierten Entwicklung gezogen wurden, die bereits im 4. Jh. eingesetzt hatte, betrieb man den Wiederaufbau ganz offensichtlich im Vertrauen auf die anhaltende administrative und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung Antiochias. Die aufwendige militärische Sicherung der Stadt, die im Osten, Norden und Westen eine völlig neue Trassierung der Stadtmauer nötig machte, spricht in dieser Hinsicht für sich.

Der neue, erheblich reduzierte Mauerverlauf in der Ebene wurde durch einen mauerparallelen, vom Orontes abgeleiteten Kanal von rund 3 km Länge aufwendig gesichert, um der Stadt „den alten Schutz durch den Orontes zurückzugeben".[60] Im Osten, auf der Bergseite, hatte der Verlauf der persischen Eroberung den Stadtplanern das zweite Grundproblem veranschaulicht. Auch in diesem Bereich beruhte die Notwendigkeit einer Verringerung des Siedlungsareals auf einem demographischen und städtebaulichen Wandel, der spätestens seit dem 5. Jh. offenbar zur Ausdünnung oder Aufgabe von Siedlungsgebieten innerhalb der alten, hellenistisch-hochkaiserzeitlichen Stadtbefestigung geführt hatte. Betroffen davon war auf der Bergseite in erster Linie der Staurinsattel, mit dessen Aufgabe vielleicht, wie schon im Fall der ‚Orontesinsel', nicht nur die Konsequenz aus dem Perserdesaster, sondern auch aus dem Umstand gezogen wurde, dass dieses Siedlungsareal in der Spätantike nicht mehr oder nur noch dünn besiedelt war.[61] Als problematisch erwies sich zudem, dass der Staurin durch eine topographisch anspruchsvolle und, was noch schwerer wog, durch unbesiedeltes Areal geführte Mauer mit der Stadtbefestigung auf dem Silpius mehr schlecht als recht verbunden war.

Justinian zog aus den älteren Entwicklungen und den zeitgenössischen Erfahrungen entschlossen Konsequenzen und verkleinerte – was vielleicht schon nach dem insbesondere für die ‚Orontesinsel' katastrophalen Erdbeben von 458 sinnvoll gewesen wäre[62] – das Siedlungsgebiet durch Aufgabe von Orontesinsel und Staurinsattel. Daraus ergab sich auch in diesem Areal die Notwendigkeit zu einer Reorganisation des Mauerverlaufs. Im Bereich der Bergbefestigung ließ der

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60 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 6 – 9.

61 s. oben S. 836 mit Fußnote 39. – Offen bleibt zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt, ob das in die justinianische Mauer einbezogene Staurinplateau, bei dem es sich um die Akropolis von Antiochia gehandelt haben könnte (G. Brands, Hellenistic Antioch on the Orontes. A status quo. *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 4, 2010, 7 f.), in der Spätantike im engeren Sinne besiedelt war oder seine wohl überwiegend öffentliche Bebauung weiterhin genutzt wurde. Unabhängig davon war das Plateau für die Sicherung der nördlich der Parmeniosschlucht gelegenen Stadtgebiete von Bedeutung, so dass seine Aufgabe nicht zur Debatte stand.

62 s. oben Fußnote 59.

Kaiser „… den Felsen, dessen Nähe offensichtlich die leichte Einnahme der Mauer verschuldet hatte, ganz aus dem Spiele und beschloß, in möglichst großem Abstand davon die Befestigungslinie der Stadt zu ziehen; der Gang der Ereignisse hatte ihn ja praktisch über die Torheit der alten Baumeister belehrt“.[63]

Diese neue Verteidigungslinie erstreckte sich in Verlängerung der theodosianischen Kammmauer auf dem Silpios nun bis zu dessen Nordrand. Hier wurde ein außergewöhnlich steiler, in die Parmeniosschlucht herabführender Mauerabschnitt angesetzt, dessen Kurtinen von insgesamt sieben, teils bastionenartig ausgebauten Rechtecktürmen unterschiedlichen Formats sowie zwei Toranlagen gegliedert wurden.[64] Den Angaben bei Prokop entsprechend verfügte jeder der Türme im Unterschied zu denen der übrigen Silpiosmauer über eine eigene Zisterne.[65] Das am Fuß der Parmeniosschlucht gelegene Eiserne Tor verband die Silpiosmauer mit der auf dem Staurin. Dessen Geländemauer umschloss – unter Aufgabe des Staurinsattels – nur noch das Staurinplateau, bevor sie auf Höhe des Nordtores in das Stadtgebiet in der Ebene eintrat.

Justinians neue Mauer auf dem Silpios verlief in Übereinstimmung mit dem Bericht Prokops „in möglichst großem Abstand“ zum Perserfelsen.[66] Um ihre Sicherheit zu gewährleisten, erwies es sich als notwendig, die nun nutzlos gewordene Verbindung zwischen der Mauer auf dem Silpioskamm und der Parmeniosmassivmauer zu kappen. Nur so konnte verhindert werden, dass dieser unmittelbar an die alte Silpiosmauer anschließende Kurtinenabschnitt feindlichen Truppen eine ungehinderte Annäherung an die neue Befestigungslinie ermöglichte. Eine jüngst durchgeführte Begehung des Areals hat, wie eingangs bereits erwähnt, gezeigt, dass der alte Mauerabschnitt zwischen dem Silpioskamm und der Parmeniosseitenschlucht tatsächlich bis auf die Fundamentkante niedergelegt wurde.[67]

Der Wert der vorgelegten Beobachtungen wäre marginal, würden sie sich in der Identifizierung des Ortes erschöpften, an dem die Perser Antiochia im Jahre

63 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 12.
64 Vgl. vorläufig H. Pamir / G. Brands / S. Nishiyama, Hatay İli, Antakya ve Samandağ Yüzey Araştırmaları 2007. Archäologische Untersuchungen im Stadtgebiet von Antiochia am Orontes/ Antakya 2007. *26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 3. Ankara 2009, 7 f.; C. Brasse, Von der Stadtmauer zur Stadtgeschichte. Das Befestigungssystem von Antiochia am Orontes, in J. Lorentzen / F. Pirson / P. Schneider / U. Wulf-Rheidt (Hrsg.), Neue Forschungen zu antiken Stadtbefestigungen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und im Vorderen Orient. *Byzas*, 10. Istanbul 2010, 265.
65 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 14.
66 Prok. aed. 2, 10, 12 (χαίρειν τοίνυν πολλὰ τῇ πέτρᾳ φράσας, ἥπερ ἐν γειτόνων τῷ τείχει οὖσα εὐάλωτον αὐτὸ διαφανῶς ἐσκαιώρητο, ὡς πορρωτάτω αὐτῆς περιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω …).
67 s. o. S. 833 Fußnote 25.

540 überrumpelten. Von größerer Bedeutung für die historische Topographie der Stadt ist, dass die Schilderungen Prokops vom justinianischen Wiederaufbau vor dem Hintergrund einer bislang kaum genutzten Quelle, der städtischen Archäologie, zusätzliches Gewicht erhalten und damit ein für topisch gehaltenes Geschehen nachvollziehbar wird.[68] Beiläufig fällt dabei auch Licht auf die Datierung des Eisernen Tores und der Stadtmauern ingesamt. Diese Bausteine zu einer Stadtbaugeschichte Antiochias sind zugleich ein Beleg dafür, dass die Forschung Prokop als archäologischer Quelle mit dem Hinweis auf ideologische Verzerrungen, sachliche Inkompetenz und Unbedarftheit in Sachen Architektur kaum gerecht wird.[69] Eine zeitgemäße Kommentierung der *Bauten* wäre nicht nur unter diesem Gesichtspunkt ein großer Gewinn für die Archäologie der Spätantike.[70]

68 Zu den übrigen militärischen Infrastrukturmaßnahmen, die Prokop als Teil des justinianischen Wiederaufbaus nach 540 zutreffend schildert, vgl. Brands, Prolegomena (wie oben Fußnote 16) 41 f. (Zisternen in den Nordmauertürmen), 43 f. (Fahrstraße am Silpioshang).
69 Vgl. in diesem Sinne bereits Cameron, Procopius (wie oben Fußnote 16) 84 – 112; L. M. Whitby, Notes on some Justinianic constructions. *BNGJ* 23 (1987) 89 – 112.
70 Die jüngste Kommentierung von D. Roques, Procope de Césarée. Constructions de Justinien Ier (Περὶ κτισμάτων / de aedificiis). Alessandria 2011, erfüllt diese Kriterien, ungeachtet der Verdienste seiner Ausgabe – vgl. Greatrex, Date (wie oben Fußnote 17); G. Greatrex, Perceptions of Procopius in recent scholarship. *Histos* 8 (2014) 103 – in archäologischer Hinsicht nicht. Vgl. in diesem Sinne bereits die Rezension von C. Saliou, *Medioevo Greco* 12 (2012) 350 – 355.

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Οἱ ἰατροὶ λέγουσι … – Erläuterungen zur anatomischen Terminologie in Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς

Abstract: The anatomical and physiological treatise Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς is characterized by a peculiarity of medical terminology which is largely unknown from comparable texts: on the one hand, anatomical terms are put into relation with corresponding terms from poetic language, on the other hand they are precisely defined by descriptions of objects of everyday use. The considerable discrepancy between the Greek original and its Latin translation is of particular interest against the background of the renaissance of Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς in the 16th century AD. The multiple versions of the Latin translation show that medical terminology in Latin language was still in an ongoing process of development, for which reason many Greek anatomical terms were inserted untranslated into the Latin text due to a lack of an adequate Latin equivalents. For this reason Περὶ τῆς τοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς plays a central role in the development of anatomical terminology, but also in its becoming more and more specific and precise.

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Dieser Beitrag ist die überarbeitete Fassung eines Vortrages, den ich im November 2014 im Rahmen des internationalen Kolloquiums *Un corpus médical problématique: Les traités attribués à Théophile Protospathaire (VIIe-IXe s.) et la relecture chrétienne des enseignements hippocratiques et galéniques* an der Université de Paris-Sorbonne gehalten habe. Ich danke den Organisatorinnen, Alessia Guardasole und Caroline Magdelaine, sehr herzlich für die Einladung nach Paris sowie für die Erlaubnis, meinen Beitrag in der *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift* zu publizieren. Weiterhin danke ich den Tagungsteilnehmern, insbesondere Klaus-Dietrich Fischer und Jacques Jouanna, für zahlreiche wertvolle Hinweise, Anregungen und Diskussionsbeiträge. Mein herzlicher Dank gilt Albrecht Berger, Erich Lamberz und Peter Schreiner, durch deren Vorschläge ich meinen Beitrag wesentlich verbessern konnte. Den beiden anonymen Gutachtern gilt ebenfalls mein Dank für ihre Anregungen, Korrekturvorschläge und Denkanstöße.

Im Rahmen einer Neuedition[1] der unter dem Namen Theophilos[2] überlieferten anatomisch-physiologischen Abhandlung Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς wurde eine eingehende Kollation der acht den Text überliefernden Handschriften, sämtlicher Varianten der lateinischen Übersetzung des Padovaner Medizinprofessors Junius Paulus Crassus (*gegen Ende 15. Jh. – 1574) sowie der bisherigen Editionen und Teileditionen durchgeführt.[3] Abgesehen von neuen Ansätzen zu Textkonstitution[4] und Kompilationstechnik[5] notiert besagte Neuedition auch zahlreiche sprachlich-stilistische Auffälligkeiten innerhalb des Textes,[6] wobei sich besonderes Augenmerk auf die terminologische Präzisierung der Erläuterung anatomischer Befunde richtet.[7] Eine signifikante Besonderheit des Sprachgebrauchs eben dieses Textes, Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, stellt einerseits seine Definition anatomischer Befunde über entsprechende Beschreibungen von Gegenständen des alltäglichen Gebrauchs dar, andererseits die recht unge-

1 Theophilos, Der Aufbau des Menschen, ed. I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Diss. München 2008: http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/9393/.

2 Zu den mit diesem Namen verbundenen Zuweisungs- und Datierungsproblemen vgl. zusammenfassend: Hippokrates, Über die Natur des Kindes (*De genitura* und *De natura pueri*), hrsg. von F. Giorgianni. *Serta Graeca*, 23. Wiesbaden 2006, 77 Anm. 391 und 392; Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 8 – 42; F. Giorgianni, Tradizione e selezione del *Corpus Hippocraticum* nel *De Corporis Humani Fabrica* di Teofilo, in I. Garofalo / A. Lami / A. Roselli (eds.), Sulla Tradizione indiretta dei testi medici greci (Atti del II Seminario Internazionale di Siena, Certosa di Pontignano, 19 – 20 sett. 2008). *Biblioteca di 'Galenos', Contributi alla Ricerca sui Testi Medici Antichi*, 2. Pisa / Rom 2009, 43 – 77: 44 Anm. 5 und 6.

3 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 63 – 119.

4 Ebd. 116 – 119.

5 Hauptquelle für Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς sind ausführliche, häufig wörtliche Exzerpte aus Galens Περὶ χρείας μορίων (vgl. Theophilos, Aufbau, wie oben Fußnote 1, 43 – 50); ferner spielt die Rezeption der christlichen Anthropologie und deren, bei Nemesios von Emesa und Gregor von Nyssa niedergelegten Grundprinzipien eine bedeutende Rolle nicht nur für Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, sondern auch für ähnlich konstruierte Texte, so z. B. für eine ebenfalls Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς betitelte Abhandlung, die unter dem Namen Meletios überliefert ist: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 50 – 63 und C. Erismann, Meletius Monachus on individuality: a ninth-century Byzantine medical reading of Porphyry's Logic. *BZ* 110 (2017) 37 – 60. Die essentielle Bedeutung, die der Theophilos-Text Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς als Testimonie für die Textkonstitution der hippokratischen Schrift *De genitura*/*De natura pueri* besitzt, hat Franco Giorgianni in seiner Neuedition dieses Textes erschöpfend dargestellt: Hippokrates ed. Giorgianni, Hippokrates (wie oben Fußnote 2) 76 – 79 sowie 120 – 126; vgl. auch Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 49.

6 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 82 – 88 und *suo loco* im Kommentar; vgl. dazu Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 47 f. mit Anm. 21 – 23.

7 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 48 Anm. 22: „Onomastica anatomica".

wöhnliche und auf speziellem Quellenmaterial[8] basierende Verbindung zweier vollständig unterschiedlicher Fachterminologien, indem medizinisch-anatomische Begriffe mit entsprechenden Parallelen aus dem poetischen Sprachgebrauch in Relation gesetzt werden. Vor dem Hintergrund der bedeutenden Renaissance, welche Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς aufgrund seiner in mehreren Fassungen vorliegenden lateinischen Übersetzung[9] innerhalb des 16. Jhs erlebte, veranschaulicht die lateinische Übersetzung dieses Textes das fortwährende Ringen um eine immer deutlichere Präzisierung und Differenzierung der anatomischen Fachterminologie in besonderem Maße, wobei die originalen griechischen Begriffe zwar gelegentliche Übersetzungsvorschläge evozierten, doch zumeist mangels eines exakten lateinischen Äquivalents unverändert bzw. transliteriert in den Übersetzungstext integriert wurden.[10] Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς besitzt demnach einen entscheidenden Anteil an der Entwicklung nicht nur der griechischen, sondern auch der lateinischen medizinisch-anatomischen Fachterminologie, dessen Tragweite sich u. a. daraus ersehen lässt, dass Andreas Vesalius (1514/15 – 1564) das Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς im Vorwort seines anatomischen Hauptwerkes *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) explizit als besonders bedeutsame Quelle aufführt.

Das individuell-charakteristische Interesse des Kompilators bzw. Redaktors von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς für die anatomische Nomenklatur markiert eine entscheidende Zäsur innerhalb der byzantinischen medizinischen

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8 Vgl. Poll. Onom. II 66 – 80 (Julii Pollucis Onomasticon I–V, ed. G. Dindorf. Leipzig 1824, I 91 – 94); Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (Ῥούφου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Περὶ ὀνομασίας τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μορίων, in: Œuvres de Rufus d'Ephèse, ed. Ch. Daremberg / Ch. É. Ruelle. Paris 1879, 133 – 185) 135, 14 – 136, 6 und 137, 11 – 138, 4 sowie: Rufi Ephesii De corporis humani partium appellationibus, ed. G. Kowalski, Diss. Göttingen 1960, 23, 7 – 24, 4 und 30, 1 – 31, 4. Diese Neuedition von Περὶ ὀνομασίας τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μορίων basiert auf 18 Handschriften, die in Autopsie kollationiert wurden (zu den Handschriften vgl. dort S. 3 – 10 und das Stemma auf S. 9, zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Edition von Daremberg/Ruelle S. 15 f.); zur direkten Abhängigkeit von Pollux, Onomasticon II von Rufus und den zahlreichen wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen vgl. S. 12. Eine ausführliche Analyse von Rufus' Περὶ ὀνομασίας τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μορίων bei M. Bujalková, Rufus of Ephesus and his contribution to the development of anatomical nomenclature. *Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica* 9 (2011) 89 – 100; zur Gegenüberstellung von Homer und medizinischer Fachterminologie (οἱ ἰατροί) bei Rufus von Ephesos vgl. K.-D. Fischer, Unbekannter und seltener Wortschatz in den pseudosoranischen Quaestiones medicinales. *Voces. Revista de Filología Latina Tardoantigua* 23/24 (2012/13) 29 – 74: 50.

9 I. P. Crassus (ed.), Theophili Protospatharii de corporis humani fabrica libri quinque. Venedig 1536 und öfters, mit nur geringfügigen Abänderungen.

10 Ein Überblick über die Entwicklung der lateinischen anatomischen Terminologie bei J. André, Le vocabulaire latin de l'anatomie. *Collection d'Études Anciennes*, 59. Paris 1991, 19 – 25 und 244 – 248, insbesondere 246 f. sowie 249 – 256.

Gebrauchsliteratur dahingehend, als sich die Rezeption fachspezifischer Begriffe nun verstärkt auf die intensive Reflexion ihrer jeweils situationsabhängigen Bedeutungsvarianten und konkreten Anwendungsmöglichkeiten konzentriert, sowie, damit einhergehend, auf ihre ausführliche Erörterung anhand von Vergleichsbeispielen und parallel existierenden terminologischen Varianten. Neben den seit der Spätantike maßgeblichen Autoritäten eines jeglichen medizinischen Schrifttums, Galen und Hippokrates,[11] bezieht sich Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς mit seinen fachterminologischen Erläuterungen auf drei unterschiedliche Referenzgruppen:

I) Divergierende Fachterminologie verschiedener, häufig anonym bleibender Ärztegruppen oder -schulen: Ausgangspunkt für die Erörterung in Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς bilden zumeist wörtliche Zitate aus Galens Περὶ χρείας μορίων, auf deren Basis eine eigenständige Argumentation mit Fokussierung auf präziser Begriffsfindung durchgeführt wird;

II) terminologische Vergleiche mit Gegenständen des alltäglichen Gebrauchs: hier agiert Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς sehr selbständig und konstituiert zugleich eine bedeutsame Quelle für das byzantinische Alltagsleben seiner Zeit;

III) zielgerichtete Gegenüberstellung von medizinisch-anatomischer und poetischer Fachterminologie: rekonstruierbare Quellen für die individuelle Ausführung durch Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς liegen in den *Onomastica* des Rufus von Ephesos und Pollux vor.

Die nachfolgenden Textbeispiele veranschaulichen die für die jeweiligen Referenzgruppen spezifische Kompilationstechnik und Argumentationsweise von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς.

I) Divergierende Terminologie unterschiedlicher Fachvertreter

Die Gegenüberstellung unterschiedlicher terminologischer Ansätze fand der Kompilator von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς des öfteren bereits in seiner Hauptquelle vor, Galens Περὶ χρείας μορίων. Zumeist integrierte er die betreffende Passage als wörtliches Zitat in den Text, wobei er sie entsprechend seiner indi-

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11 „Ἱπποκράτης, ὁ τῆς ἰατρικῆς Προμηθεύς“: Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς V 20 (Theophilos, Aufbau, wie oben Fußnote 1, 192; Θεοφίλου περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς βιβλία ε´ / Theophili Protospatharii de corporis humani fabrica libri V, ed. G. A. Greenhill. Oxford 1842, 215, 14 – 216, 1); vgl. Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 58 mit dem Hinweis, dass es sich bei diesem Epitethon um eine Neuschöpfung des Theophilos-Textes handelt.

viduellen Präferenzen geringfügig oder beträchtlich modifizierte. Die nachfolgenden Textbeispiele aus Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς illustrieren unterschiedliche Modifikationsarten:

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς I 13[12]	Περὶ χρείας μορίων II 14[13]
ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὰς ἀποφύσεις ταύτας ἀμφοτέρας μὲν κορώνας, διότι περιφερεῖς εἰσιν ἀμφότεραι·	ὀνομάζουσι τὰς ἀποφύσεις ταύτας κοινῇ μὲν ἀμφοτέρας κορώνας τε καὶ κορωνά, διότι περιφερεῖς εἰσιν, οὕτω θέμενοι τοὔνομα,
τὴν δὲ μεγάλην τὴν ὄπισθεν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ὀλέκρανον, Ἱπποκράτης δὲ ἀγκῶνα.	ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὴν ὄπισθεν τὴν μείζονα, καθότι καὶ πρόσθεν εἴπομεν, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ὠλέκρανον, Ἱπποκράτης δ᾽ ἀγκῶνα.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς reduziert die galenische Vorlage auf die für den Kontext wesentlichen Elemente, die es zu betonen gilt: terminologische Einigkeit herrscht hinsichtlich der Bezeichnung beider Oberarmapophysen als κορώνας (‚Ellbogenhöcker'), doch hinsichtlich der genauen Nomenklatur für das proximale Ende der Ulna divergieren die Lehrmeinungen (μέν – δέ betont den Kontrast), welche der Kompilator an dieser Stelle referiert, ohne selbst Stellung zu beziehen.[14] Crassus' lateinische Übersetzung verzeichnet mit „Attici" anstelle von „Ἀθηναῖοι" eine Variante, die andernorts im selben Kontext ebenfalls bei Galen belegt ist;[15] die griechischen Termini werden in lateinischer Transliteration wiedergegeben: „Hos autem excessus ambos quidem *coronas* [κορώνας][16] a rotun-

12 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 133, 20 – 22 und 287 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 31, 11 – 14 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9), sowie eine eingehende Analyse dieser Textpassage vor dem Hintergrund der hippokratischen Überlieferung bei Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 66 f.

13 Γαληνοῦ περὶ χρείας μορίων ιζʹ / Galeni de usu partium libri XVII, rec. G. Helmreich, I. Leipzig 1907, 104, 11 – 15.

14 Eine Parallele zwischen ἀγκών und ὠλέκρανον verzeichnet Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 143, 9 – 11 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 45.4 – 46.2): „Μετὰ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα, ἀγκὼν τὸ σύμπαν ἄρθρον […]. Οἱ δὲ ὀλέκρανον καλοῦσιν· Δωριεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κύβιτον·", vgl. Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 281.

15 Vgl. Περὶ χρείας μορίων II 2 (ed. Helmreich, wie oben Fußnote 13, 67, 9 f.).

16 Vgl. J. Hyrtl, Onomatologia anatomica. Geschichte und Kritik der anatomischen Sprache der Gegenwart. Wien 1880, 150 f.

ditate nominant; magnum quidem posteriorem Attici *olecranum* [ὀλέκρανον],[17] Hippocrates autem *anconem* [ἀγκῶνα][18] appellat.“

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς I 20[19]	Περὶ χρείας μορίων III 6[20]
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ καρπῷ παραπλήσιον ἔχον, τὸν λεγόμενον ταρσόν, *καὶ τῷ μετακαρπίῳ τὸ πρὸς τῶν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν* ὀνομασθὲν πεδίον.	*ἀλλὰ καὶ* τὸ *τῷ καρπῷ παραπλήσιον* ἔσχον, ὃ καλεῖται ταρσός, *καὶ* τὸ *τῷ μετακαρπίῳ,* τοῦτο δὴ *τὸ πρὸς τῶν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν* πεδίον ὀνομασθέν, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐοικότας ἱκανῶς.
τὰ μὲν οὖν τρία μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ ποδὸς οἷά περ τῆς χειρός εἰσιν, οἱ δάκτυλοι, τὸ πέδιον, ὁ ταρσός, ὧν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλῳ ζώῳ πλὴν ἀνθρώπῳ.	*τὰ μὲν οὖν τρία μέρη* ταυτὶ *τοῦ ποδὸς οἷά περ* τὰ *τῆς χειρός* ἐστιν, *οἱ δάκτυλοι, τὸ πέδιον, ὁ ταρσός, ὧν οὐδέν* τοῖς ἵπποις ὑπάρχει.
τὸ δὲ ὑποκείμενον τῇ κνήμῃ μέρος τοῦ ποδός, σύνθετον ὄν, ἴδιον ὄνομα οὐ κέκτηται,	*τὸ δ᾽ ὑποκείμενον τῇ κνήμῃ μέρος τοῦ ποδός*, ᾧ τὸ σκέλος ὅλον ἐπίκειται κατ᾽εὐθύ, τὸ κοινὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ποδῶν, ἓν μὲν ὄνομα τοιοῦτον, οἷον ταρσὸς καὶ πεδίον, οὐκ ἔχει.
σύγκειται δὲ ἐκ τριῶν ὀστῶν, ἀστραγάλου τε καὶ πτέρνης, καὶ τοῦ κληθέντος *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατομικῶν ἰατρῶν*, *σκαφοειδοῦς*· ὁ δὲ ταρσὸς καὶ τὸ πέδιον, κἂν σύνθετα ὦσι, τῶν συνήθων ὀνομάτων τετυχήκασι.	*σύγκειται* δ᾽ *ἐκ τριῶν ὀστῶν* ὀνόματα κεκτημένων *ἀστραγάλου* μὲν *καὶ πτέρνης* συνήθη τοῖς πολλοῖς, τρίτου δὲ τοῦ σκαφοειδοῦς *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατομικῶν ἰατρῶν* οὕτω τεθέντος.

Auch hier zeigt die Gegenüberstellung wieder eine deutliche Straffung des Quellentextes durch Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς; mit dem knappen Einschub „οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλῳ ζώῳ πλὴν ἀνθρώπῳ“ positioniert sich der Kompilator zudem, und dies ohne vom Darstellungsverlauf abzuschweifen, in Relation zu den für Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς so entscheidenden

17 Vgl. André, Vocabulaire (wie oben Fußnote 10) 92; Hyrtl, Onomatologia, ebd. 361–363.
18 Vgl. André, Vocabulaire, ebd. 93; Hyrtl, Onomatologia, ebd. 30 f.
19 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 137, 6–13 und 290 f. (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 44, 1 – 45, 1 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).
20 Helmreich (wie oben Fußnote 13) 142, 11–24.

Prinzipien der christlichen Anthropologie. Die beiden zitierten terminologischen Referenzen sind zwar aus Galen übernommen, doch nehmen sie im weiteren Verlauf von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς eine durchaus bedeutende Rolle ein: die νεώτεροι ἰατροί könnten Rufus von Ephesos miteinschließen,[21] wohingegen die ἀνατομικοὶ ἰατροί sehr wahrscheinlich als Hinweis auf die Vertreter der alexandrinischen Humananatomie zu verstehen sein dürften, welche im weiteren Kontext von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς eine bedeutende Rolle spielt, insbesondere repräsentiert durch Herophilos als häufig zitierte Autorität in terminologischen Fragestellungen. Die zitierte Textpassage bringt sehr deutlich zum Ausdruck, dass die Feststellung, wie die Vergabe terminologischer Benennungen vonstatten ging, für den Kompilator von großer Wichtigkeit war, denn er betont ausdrücklich, dass dem unterhalb des Schienbeins liegenden Teil des Fußes kein eigener Name zugewiesen wurde, obgleich er, ähnlich wie ταρσός und πέδιον, aus mehreren terminologisch definierten Einzelknochen zusammengesetzt aufgebaut ist; bei ταρσός und πέδιον hingegen werden die Einzelknochen nicht separat benannt. In seiner lateinischen Übersetzung transliteriert Crassus die griechischen Termini (*tarsus*[22] und *pedion*), hier jedoch mit dem zusätzlichen Vorschlag einer Wiedergabe des griechischen πέδιον durch *planta:*[23] „quae a junioribus medicis *pedion* [πεδίον] (Latine *planta*) est nominata […]". Seine Interpretation der ἀνατομικοὶ ἰατροί als *medici dissectorii*[24] betont den Aspekt der anatomischen Sektion noch zusätzlich; *naviculare os* stellt eine wörtliche Übersetzung des griechischen Terminus' σκαφοειδές dar.

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21 Vgl. Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 193, 11 f.: „Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν ὑπόκειται τὸ πεδίον ἔχον ὀστᾶ πέντε […]."

22 Vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 526 – 529.

23 Vgl. André, Vocabulaire (wie oben Fußnote 10) 116 f.; Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 411.

24 An anderer Stelle gibt Crassus die ἀνατομοὶ ἰατροί des griechischen Textes auch mit „incisoriae artis professores" wieder, womit der Sektionsaspekt noch deutlicher hervorgehoben wird: Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 145, 9 f. (lat. Übers. Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 5[25]	Περὶ χρείας μορίων IX 3[26]
τοῦτον τὸν σωλῆνα ὠνόμασαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡρόφιλον πύελόν τε καὶ χώνην· ἡ μὲν *ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς πόρους κοιλότης ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος πύελος* ὀνομάζεται, *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς χρείας*, χώνη, τέτρηται γὰρ εἰς τὸ κάταντες αἰσθητῷ πόρῳ ὡς χώνην μιμεῖσθαι·	*ἡ μὲν ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς πόρους κοιλότης*, ἣν οἱ μὲν *ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος* πύελον, οἱ δ' *ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας* χοάνην ὀνομάζουσιν […].

Die doppelte Bezeichnung der aus der Verdickung der beiden Hirnhäute entstandenen Rinne als ‚Trog' (πύελος) und ‚Trichter' (χώνη) führt Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς auf Herophilos und seine Anhängerschaft zurück, während der zugrundeliegende Galentext zwar beide Termini nennt und sie aufgrund der äußeren Gestalt (σχῆμα) bzw. der Nutzanwendung (χρεία) des anatomischen Befundes heraus erläutert, jedoch ohne Herkunftsangabe dieser beiden Begriffe. Die zitierte Textpassage lässt deutlich erkennen, inwieweit und in welcher Weise der Kompilator von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς Ergänzungen aus komplementärem Quellenmaterial vornimmt und in seinen Text integriert. Charakteristisch für ihn sind die mit γάρ angehängten knappen Erläuterungen, welche bestimmte Passagen oder auch nur Einzelbegriffe aus dem vorausgehenden Zitat bzw. Quellenexzerpt näher erklären und damit einprägsamer machen: im Falle des oben zitierten Textbeispieles ist es die Wahl des Begriffes ‚Trichter',[27] die mit der trichterartig abwärts verlaufenden Durchbohrung des Wahrnehmungskanales begründet wird.

Ebenfalls auf der von Herophilos eingeführten anatomischen Nomenklatur basiert die Bezeichnung „δωδεκαδάκτυλος" (*duodenum*,[28] Zwölffingerdarm), die sich aufgrund seiner Länge ergibt:

25 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 166, 30–33 und 319 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 135, 9–14 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

26 ed. Helmreich (wie oben Fußnote 13) 8, 12–14.

27 Vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 390: „Pelvis cerebri".

28 Ebd. 192–194.

> ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς νήστεως ἡ δωδεκαδάκτυλος ἔκφυσις, ἔντερον οὖσα καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν λεπτῶν, δώδεκα δακτύλων τὸ μέγεθος ἔχουσα· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν αὐτὴν Ἡρόφιλος ὠνόμασε δωδεκαδάκτυλον.[29]

Mit derartigen terminologischen Referenzen erläutert der Kompilator von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς nicht nur Herkunft und Anlass der erwähnten Termini, sondern bezieht gelegentlich auch selbst ganz deutlich Position mit der individuellen Entscheidung für die Weiterführung bestimmter Traditionen, so beispielsweise, wenn er in Buch II, 11[30] für den Terminus ‚Lebertore' („[…] εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον πύλας ἥπατος") eine bis in hippokratische Zeiten zurückreichende Tradition postuliert, welche durch die Iatrosophisten, in deren Nachfolge er sich versteht,[31] bis in die Gegenwart hinein bewahrt und gepflegt wurde: „[…] ἐκ τότε οὖν καὶ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἐπωνόμασται οὕτως παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν ἰατρῶν."[32]

Eine terminologisch äußerst interessante Passage findet sich ebenfalls im 2. Buch von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, wenn drei unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen für das Gekröse und ihre jeweiligen Ableitungen bzw. Begründungen vorgestellt werden:

> […] ταύτην τὴν σάρκα ὠνόμασαν μεσεντέριον, διὰ τὸ μέσον κεῖσθαι τῶν ἐντέρων· ἕτεροι δὲ μεσάραιον, διὰ τὸ μέσον αἴρεσθαι πάντων τούτων τῶν ἀγγείων· ἄλλοι δὲ καλλίκρεας· ἥδιστον δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐσθίεσθαι.[33]

Zwei der genannten Termini beziehen sich auf die Lage des Organs; ungewöhnlich ist die geschmacksbasierte dritte Bezeichnung, καλλίκρεας. Die lateinische

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29 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς II 7: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 145, 15–17 und 298 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 68, 6–10 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9). Zu Herophilos und der vielfältigen Überlieferung seiner Fragmente vgl. Herophilus. The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria, ed. H. v. Staden. Cambridge 1989, 210, Text 98b.
30 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 148, 3 und 301 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 76, 13 f.
31 Vgl. Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 27 f.
32 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 148, 5 f.; Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 76, 16–77, 2. Vgl. dazu die geringfügig abweichende Lesart der Handschrift V: „εἶτα ἀπὸ τότε μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν σοφῶν ἰατρῶν κατεκρατήθη ἡ ὀνομασία αὕτη."
33 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 148, 13–15 und 301 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 77, 12–78, 1 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9). Zu *Mesenterium* und *Mesaraion* vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 326–328; zur positionsbasierten Bezeichnung vgl. Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 157, 6–8 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 81, 2–82, 1) und 181, 1–3.

Übersetzung ergänzt die Definitionen noch um die speziell im Lateinischen vorherrschende Bezeichnung ‚lactes': „[…] sed Latini *lactes* usitato vocabulo appellaverunt."[34]

Nicht nur der Haupttext, sondern gelegentlich auch Randglossen einzelner Handschriften können terminologisch bedeutsame Hinweise enthalten; im Falle von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς begegnet Derartiges in der Überlieferung des Textes durch die Handschriften P (Paris, Cod. Par. R 35851, 14. Jh.) und von dieser abhängig B (Berlin, Cod. Phillips 1527, 16. Jh.). Die diesbezügliche Textpassage bezieht sich auf die Nomenklatur der Leberlappen (‚Herd', ‚Tisch', ‚Messer' und ‚Wagenlenker') und lautet folgendermaßen: „καί τις ἀνὴρ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἰατρῶν τοῖς λοβοῖς ὀνόματα προσηγόρευσε ταῦτα, ἑστία, τράπεζα, μάχαιρα καὶ ἡνίοχος."[35] Die Handschriften P und B kennzeichnen *supra lineam* (ἑστία[α′], τράπεζα[β′], μάχαιρα[γ′], ἡνίοχος[δ′]) die Einzelbegriffe und liefern *in margine* eine knappe Erläuterung der Termini aufgrund der jeweiligen Funktion der so bezeichneten Leberlappen:

> α′· συντελεῖ γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς τὸ τοῦ χυμοῦ κατεργασίαν ὡς ἡ ἑστία εἰς τὰ ἑψόμενα βρώματα, β′· τραπέζης γὰρ λόγον ἐπέχει· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ αἱ τροφαὶ τῶν μορίων περικεῖνται, γ′· διαιρεῖ γὰρ καὶ διαχωρίζει τοὺς χυμοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἢ ἐάν τι παχύτερον ἀναδοθῇ, τέμνει καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἀλλοιοῖ, δ′· τούτου γὰρ καλῶς ἔχοντος αἱ φυσικαὶ δυνάμεις τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ὁδεύουσιν."[36]

Zumindest die beiden Begriffe τράπεζα und μάχαιρα begegnen bei Rufus von Ephesos – möglicherweise dem einleitend zitierten „τις ἀνὴρ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἰατρῶν" –, welcher sie als terminologische Entlehnungen auf die Hieroskopie zurückführt: „ἃ δὲ ἐν ἱεροσκοπίᾳ πύλας, καὶ τράπεζαν, καὶ μάχαιραν, καί ὄνυχα καλοῦσιν, ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀσαφῆ δὲ καὶ οὐκ εὔδηλα, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἰατρικὸν ἀναγκαίως ὀνομασθέντα."[37] Die Integration des Marginaltextes in die lateinische Übersetzung: „Quidam autem ex mathematicis medicis fibris haec

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34 Vgl. André, Vocabulaire (wie oben Fußnote 10) 143. Fischer, Wortschatz (wie oben Fußnote 8) 49 weist auf eine weitere Alternative, „medianeum", als Novum in den pseudosoranischen *Quaestiones medicinales* (98C) hin.

35 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς II 13: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 149, 22–24 und 302 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 81, 6–8 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

36 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 229.

37 Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 158, 5–8 und Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii (wie oben Fußnote 8) 83, 5–84, 1; vgl. ferner ebd. 141, Anm. 32 mit Belegen (u.a. auch die zitierte Passage aus Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς II 13) zu weiteren Bezeichnungen für die bei der Opferschau wichtigen Leberteile und einschlägiger Bibliographie zur Diskussion um deren anatomische Zuweisung.

nomina imposuit: prima *focus* dicta est, (*maxime namque ad succi coctionem facit, quemadmodum focus ad coquenda cibaria*) secunda *mensae* nomen sortita est, (*quoniam mensae vicem gerit, siquidem membrorum alimenta in ipsa apponuntur*) tertia *culter* nominatur, (*dividit enim segregatque inter se humores, aut si quid crassius distribuendum sit, id secat atque commutat*) quarta vero *aurigae* nomine praedita est, (*nam humores excoctos naturales vires bene regunt, atque in melius recta ducunt*)“ spricht deutlich für eine Abhängigkeit der von Crassus verwendeten anonymen Vorlage von der durch PB gekennzeichneten Textüberlieferung.

Die Übertragung von aus dem Alltagsleben geläufigen Begriffen – wie bei dem zuletzt zitierten Textbeispiel die Bezeichnungen von Küchenutensilien, Herd, Tisch und Messer – in die anatomische Terminologie spielt innerhalb von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς eine bedeutende Rolle, da sie nicht nur der Präzisierung der Beschreibung des anatomischen Befundes, sondern zugleich auch der Verständlichkeit und damit der besseren Einprägsamkeit – insbesondere im didaktischen Kontext der medizinischen Gebrauchsliteratur – dient.

II. Terminologische Vergleiche mit Gegenständen des alltäglichen Gebrauchs

Eine Vielzahl terminologischer Referenzen innerhalb von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς stammt aus unterschiedlichsten Bereichen des Alltagslebens, so beispielsweise aus Militär, Sport, Seefahrt und Fischereiwesen, Haushalt und Kleidung, Schrift und Geometrie. Ein derart spezielles lexikographisch-onomastisches Interesse[38] ist ein besonderes Charakteristikum des Kompilators von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, das in dieser fokussierten Weise in vergleichbaren Texten der byzantinischen medizinischen Gebrauchsliteratur bislang nicht nachweisbar ist. Eine solche Schwerpunktsetzung lässt sich neben der sicherlich zu Recht vermuteten persönlichen Vorliebe des Kompilators zudem vielleicht auch mit dem didaktischen Anspruch des Textes erklären: die Einprägsamkeit der geschilderten Körperbefunde gestaltet sich durch den Vergleich mit Bekanntem und in der Vorstellungswelt der Rezipienten bereits Vorhandenem müheloser; der knappe Hinweis auf allgemein geläufige Gebrauchsgegenstände erspart ferner eine langatmige theoretische Erklärung und ausführliche Beschreibung, da jeder auf das zugrundeliegende Konkretum zurückgreifen kann. Rückwirkend ermöglichen die zitierten Vergleichsbeispiele wiederum einen deutlichen Kenntniszugewinn über das byzantinische Alltagsleben zur Entstehungszeit von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ

38 Vgl. Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 22.

ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς sowie die damit verbundenen Gegenstände, die sich in manchen Fällen, mangels archäologischer Quellen, erst aufgrund der entsprechenden Textpassage erschließen bzw. definieren lassen.

Von der geometrischen Figur des Dreiecks ist die Terminologie der drei Klappen der rechten Herzkammer als Triskupidalklappen abzuleiten,[39] und diese Bezeichnung ist derart treffend, dass sich jegliche ausführliche Diskussion des Begriffes erübrigt:

> Τὴν προσωνυμίαν δὲ ὑμένες οὗτοι τριγλώχινες καλοῦνται ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν τριγλωχίνων, ὅμοιοι γὰρ κατὰ πάντα τοῖς τριγλώχισιν εἰσίν.“[40]

Die der Dreiecksanalogie zugemessene Bedeutung kommt durch die zweimalige Betonung der Ähnlichkeit des anatomischen Befundes mit der geometrischen Figur – bei zweiten Mal sogar noch durch „κατὰ πάντα“, ‚ganz und gar‘, betont – deutlich zum Tragen und dient zudem der Einprägsamkeit dieses Terminus.

Auch die drei Kehlkopfknorpel bieten Anlass zu terminologischen Überlegungen, wobei die diesbezüglichen Referenzen aus ganz unterschiedlichen Bereichen stammen: die Ähnlichkeit des erstgelegenen Knorpels mit dem im Militärwesen gebräuchlichen hohen viereckigen Schild bedingt ebenso dessen spezielle Bezeichnung:

> Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος χόνδρος θυρεοειδής, κείμενος ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ κάτω τῆς γένυος, ὅστις καὶ φαίνεται καὶ καλεῖται τετράπλευρος, θυρεῷ παραπλήσιος τῷ σχήματι, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἐκτήσατο, ἔοικε γὰρ θυρεῷ.[41]

Ebenso das an eine Gießkanne erinnernde Aussehen des dritten Knorpels:

> Ὁ τρίτος δὲ τῇ μὲν θέσει ἄνω καὶ μέσος κεῖται τῶν δύο τούτων, ἀρυταίνῃ παραπλήσιος, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔσχηκεν ἀρυταινοειδὴς λεγόμενος. ἔστι δὲ ἀρύταινα ξυλουργικὸν σκεῦος,

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39 Vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 564 f. Dieser Terminologieansatz wird auch der Erasistratos-Schule zugeschrieben: vgl. Galen PHP VI 6 (Kühn V, 548): „[...] καὶ τριγλώχινας ἔνιοι τῶν Ἐρασιστρατείων ἐκάλεσαν αὐτούς.“

40 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς III 9: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 155, 20–22 und 309 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 99, 1–3 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

41 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς III 15: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 159, 13–16 und 312 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 111, 5–10 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9); vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 547 f.

> ᾧπερ χρῶνται οἱ πλευστικοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντλεῖν τὸ ἐν τῇ νηῒ ἐπιπόλαζον ὕδωρ, οἱ κηπευτικοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄρδειν τοὺς κήπους.[42]

Interessant ist hier die Ergänzung der terminologischen Referenz um die Erklärung, was eine Gießkanne ist und wer sie wofür verwendet; eine Zusatzinformation, deren Ausführlichkeit im Vergleich zu den sonst äußerst knapp gehaltenen Stellungnahmen von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς recht ungewöhnlich wirkt. Inhaltlich und stilistisch spricht manches für die Annahme, dass es sich bei dieser Passage um eine sekundär in den Text eingedrungene Marginalie handeln könnte – eine Vermutung, die sowohl Crassus wie auch Greenhill durch ihre Klammersetzung unterstützen –, doch bietet die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Textes hierfür keine näheren Anhaltspunkte: beide Textredaktionen überliefern die fragliche Passage übereinstimmend im Wortlaut sowie als Textbestandteil. Demzufolge müsste eine derartige Emendation noch vor Trennung der beiden Textredaktionen, also im Bereich eines hypothetischen Subarchetypus,[43] erfolgt sein und ist jedenfalls aus der aktuellen Überlieferungssituation nicht belegbar. Der zweite Kehlkopfknorpel allerdings konstituiert eine terminologische Aporie, die in Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς als unlösbar vermerkt wird:

> ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ὄπισθεν καὶ ἔσω κεῖται, προσψαύων τῷ στομάχῳ, ἀνόμοιος δὲ τοῖς φαινομένοις πᾶσιν, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν ἀκατονόμαστος ὠνομάσθη,[44]

Sie verleiht damit aber diesem Knorpel auch gleichzeitig seine exakt zutreffende und ihn präzise charakterisierende Nomenklatur: „ἀκατονόμαστος" – in didaktischer Hinsicht sicherlich äußerst einprägsam formuliert.

Ein gängiger und in den Texten recht häufig belegter Alltagsvergleich, auf den auch Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς zurückgreift, besteht in der Analogie der Funktionsweise zweier Mühlsteine mit dem Zusammenspiel von Ober- und Unterkiefer beim Kauvorgang:

> Ὅτι δὲ τοῦ στόματος δύο γένυες εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν ἄνω, ἡ δὲ κάτω, φανερόν. κινεῖται δὲ μόνη ἡ κάτω διὰ τὸ λεαίνεσθαι τὰς τροφάς, μένει δὲ τὸ ἓν ἀκίνητον· εἰ γὰρ τὰ δύο ἐκινοῦντο, ἔμειναν

42 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς III 15: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 159, 17–21 und 313 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 111, 13–112, 5 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9); vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 57–59.

43 Vgl. das Stemma bei Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 94.

44 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς III 15: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 159, 16 f. und 312 f. (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 111, 10–13 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

> ἂν ἀνενέργητα καὶ ἀμφότερα. ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δημητριακῶν λίθων ὁρῶμεν ὅτι λεαίνεται ὁ σῖτος, τοῦ κάτω μένοντος ἀσαλεύτου, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα γίνεται.[45]

Die unmittelbar darauffolgende Textpassage jedoch ist ungewöhnlich:

> Κατασπᾶται δὲ ἡ κάτω γένυς ὑπὸ τοῦ μυώδους πλατύσματος, ἐκφυόμενος μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀκρωμίων, καταφυόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ κάτω μέρος τῆς γένυος ἕως τοῦ ἄκρου αὐτοῦ. ἔοικε δὲ τὸ μυῶδες πλάτυσμα γυναικείῳ φιαλίῳ, τῷ κοινῶς λεγομένῳ στομομανίκῳ.[46]

Die Muskelplatte am Unterkiefer wird hier mit einem γυναικεῖον φιάλιον,[47] umgangssprachlich[48] στομομάνικον[49] genannt, verglichen. DuCange[50] vermerkt s.v. *στομομάνικον: velum muliebre quo os velatur*, d. h. eine Art Schleier, der die untere Gesichtshälfte bedeckt und sehr wahrscheinlich zur Entstehungszeit von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς gängiger Bestandteil der weiblichen Oberbekleidung war, eventuell vergleichbar mit dem im westlichen Mittelalter allerdings erst ab dem 12. Jh. als Kleidungselement verheirateter Frauen belegten Gebende[51]. DuCange stellt weiterhin eine Verbindung zu lat. *manica* her, womit der lange, auch die gesamte Hand inkludierende Ärmel der Tunica bezeichnet wird, wobei im vorliegenden Fall auf einen Stoffstreifen, der in Art einer *manica* die untere Gesichtshälfte verhüllt, zu schließen wäre, nach Art des erwähnten Gebende. Häufiger verwendete Parallelen zu στομομάνικον sind laut DuCange die Begriffe

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45 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 28: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 179, 2 – 6 und 331 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 175, 17 – 176, 7 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

46 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 28: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 179, 8 – 11 und 331 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 176, 11 – 177, 2 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9); vgl. Lesart V: „τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ παρὰ τῇ κοινῇ συνήθειᾳ στομομάνικον".

47 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 415: φιάλιον als Dim. zu φιάλη bei Eubulus 69 (ed. Kock), Arist. Mirabilia 832b 26 und öfter (vgl. LSJ s.v.); vgl. auch Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 23.

48 κοινῶς λεγόμενον bzw. κοινὴ συνήθεια ist eine für Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς charakteristische Wendung, welche stets umgangssprachliche Redewendungen bzw. lexikographische Alternativen einleitet: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 83 und Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 23.

49 *Hapax legomenon:* Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 416; Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 23.

50 C. Du Fresne DuCange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis. Lyon 1688.

51 An dieser Stelle sei Matthias Weniger, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, herzlich für die aufschlussreiche Korrespondenz zu diesem Thema gedankt; mangels entsprechender Untersuchungen für den byzantinischen Bereich lässt sich hier leider noch keine verbindliche Aussage zu Vorkommen und zeitlicher Eingrenzung eines solchen ikonographischen Details treffen.

μανίκιον, χειρομάνικον,[52] στόμωμα, στομωμάτιον, wobei letzteres eine Art Visier bzw. Gesichtsschutz bei Kriegern bezeichnet. Crassus transliteriert φιάλιον und στομομάνικον, wobei er bei letzterem, analog zur griechischen Vorlage, explizit dessen Herkunft aus der griechischen Umgangssprache betont: „Similis est haec musculosa amplificatio muliebri phialae, quam vulgo Graeci [στομομάνικον] *stomomanicon* appellant."

Ein weiterer, ähnlich interessanter Beitrag zur byzantinischen Realienkunde findet sich ebenfalls im 4. Buch von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, wenn die Beschreibung der Stützvorrichtung des Kopfes mit einer Analogie aus dem Fischereiwesen erläutert wird:

> Στηρίζεται δὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλαγίων, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς ὄρθιον ξύλον, τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον τράνα."[53]

Auch hier greift die Überlieferung mit τράνα[54] und ἐποχή[55] auf umgangssprachliche Begriffe zurück, die sich folgendermaßen erklären lassen: s.v. τράνα verzeichnet DuCange: „*maris ἐποχαί, in quibus Piscatoria fiunt*" sowie das *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität:* „Fischfangplatz".[56] Die terminologische Referenz aus Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς ist insofern von besonderer Bedeutung, da sie den einzig bislang bekannten Beleg zum Aussehen einer solchen Fischfangvorrichtung darstellt, wie Erich Trapp in seiner diesbezüglichen Untersuchung betont:[57] „Aus diesen Worten ergibt sich, dass die Plattform, auf der der Wächter saß, von vier an der τράνα schräg befestigten Balken gehalten wurde." Laut Trapp sei τράνα vermutlich vom lat. *traginare* abzuleiten, wobei sich die eigentliche Bedeutung im Sinne eines Schleppnetzes im Laufe der Zeit dahingehend verändert habe, dass zur Abfassungszeit von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς nurmehr der die Plattform tragende zentrale Stützbalken als τράνα bezeichnet wurde[58] –

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52 στομομάνικον vielleicht als Analogiebildung hierzu?

53 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 29: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 180, 19–21 (sing. trad. V, y lac.) und 332 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 181, 9–12 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

54 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 417; Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 23.

55 Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 417; Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 23.

56 *LBG* I 592: LeoNov 215, 16, 19; 217, 9; 335, 18 etc.

57 E. Trapp, Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen über die Errichtung einer ἐποχή, in A. M. Hakkert / P. Wirth (Hrsg.), Polychordia, Festschrift für Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag. *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1. Amsterdam 1966, 329–333: 329.

58 Trapp, ebd. 329.

eine Vermutung, welche die Handschrift V (Venedig, Cod. Marcian. App. cl. V 12, 2. Hälfte 10. Jh.) mit ihrem Zusatz *in margine* bestätigt: „τράνα· τὸ μακρὸν ξύλον τῆς ἐποχῆς“.

III. Vergleich der medizinischen Terminologie mit dem poetischen Sprachgebrauch

Zwei Textpassagen innerhalb des 4. Buches von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς sind nicht nur vor dem Hintergrund terminologischer Referenzen von singulärer Bedeutung, sondern veranschaulichen zugleich ein weit über den medizinischen Normalgebrauch hinausgehendes lexikographisches Interesse des Kompilators, das nur mit einem intensiven Studium von diesbezüglicher Spezialliteratur zu erklären ist.[59] Die erste Textpassage erläutert eingehend die Anatomie der Nase[60] in Gegenüberstellung mit der entsprechenden poetischen Terminologie:

> […] ἀποφραττομένας τὰς αὐτὰς κοιλότητας ἑτέρῳ χόνδρῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς διαφράγματι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς κίονι καὶ στυλίδι.[61] αἱ δὲ κοιλότητες παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ὀνομάζονται μυκτῆρες, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς θάλαμοι[62]· τὸ δὲ τῆς ῥινὸς πλήρωμα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀκρορρίνιον, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς σφαίριον[63]· τὰ δὲ ἐδάφη τῶν κοιλωμάτων παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ὀνομάζονται ληνοί, τὰ δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ χόνδρου τῆς ῥινὸς πτερύγια[64].[65]

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59 Rekonstruierbar ist die Verwendung der *Onomastica* des Rufus von Ephesos und des Pollux, doch geht Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 22 sicherlich recht in seiner Annahme, dass der Kompilator von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς zusätzlichen Zugang zu heute nicht mehr erhaltenen, speziell aufgebauten anatomischen Listen gehabt haben muss, worin besonderes Augenmerk auf die Differenzierung von poetischem und medizinischem Sprachgebrauch gelegt wurde.
60 Vgl. Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 350 – 352; André, Vocabulaire (wie oben Fußnote 10) 41 f.
61 Vgl. Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 137, 11 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 30, 1); Poll. Onom. II 79 (I 94 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „τὸ δὲ τὰ τρυπήματα διαιροῦν ὥσπερ τειχίον, κίων, καὶ διάφραγμα, καὶ στυλίς.“
62 Vgl. Poll. Onom. II 79 (I 94 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „Τῆς δὲ ῥινὸς μέρη, τὰ μὲν κοιλώματα, θαλάμαι, μυκτῆρες, μυξωτῆρες, ὀχετεύματα.“
63 Vgl. Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 138, 2 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 31, 2): „τὸ δὲ ἄκρον τῆς ῥινός, σφαιρίον“; Poll. Onom. II 79 (I 94 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „τὸ δὲ ἀκρορίνιον ὅλον, σφαίριον.“
64 Mit deutlicher Betonung der Flügelmetapher: Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 137, 12 – 138, 1 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 30, 2 –

In ebensolcher Weise erläutert der Kompilator von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς auch die Anatomie des Augenlides[66] mittels Metaphern aus dem poetischen Sprachgebrauch:

> Καλεῖται δὲ τὸ βλέφαρον παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς κάλυμμα καὶ ἐπικοιλίς[67]· ὅ γε μὴν ἔγκοιλος τῶν βλεφάρων περίδρομος κόγχος καλεῖται· αἱ δ᾽ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμαὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ῥυτίδες ὀνομάζονται, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἴλιγγες[68]· τὸ δὲ κάτωθεν τῶν βλεφάρων τὸ ἀσάλευτον παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ταρσὸς[69] καλεῖται, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς κοιλίς.[70]

Bei der durch Q (Paris, Cod. Par. R 9858, 16. Jh.) überlieferten Lesart παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ποιηταῖς mag es sich um eine schlichte Verschreibung handeln, doch wirkt das hier vielleicht unfreiwillig geschaffene Kompositum der ‚Arzt-Poeten' vor dem rekonstruierbaren onomastischen Quellenmaterial und der augenscheinlichen Vorliebe des Kompilators für Referenzen aus dem poetischen Sprachgebrauch durchaus signifikant. Die sich an die zuletzt zitierte Textpassage anschließende Betonung der besonderen Bedeutung der Wimpern in ihrer Funktion als Schmuck und zugleich Schutzmechanismus des Auges[71] basiert ebenfalls auf Pollux.[72] Die besondere Affinität von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς gerade zum poeti-

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31, 1): „τὸ δὲ πέρας τοῦ ὀστώδους ὑψώματος τὸ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔν[sic]θεν, πτερύγια. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κινεῖται ἐν ταῖς σφοδραῖς δυσπνοίαις, καὶ ἄλλως βουληθέντων"; vgl. Poll. Onom. II 79 (I 94 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν τοῦ σφαιρίου ἑκατέρωθεν, ὑπῆναι, ἢ πτερύγια."

65 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 13: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 171, 2 – 8 und 323 (deutsche Übersetzung) sowie 407 f.; Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 147, 15 – 148, 7 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

66 Vgl. André, Vocabulaire (wie oben Fußnote 10) 45 – 49.

67 Vgl. Poll. Onom. II 66 (I 91 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „Μέρη δὲ ὀφθαλμοῦ, βλέφαρα μέν, τὸ ἐπιτετανυσμένον δέρμα, καὶ συγκλεῖον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἃ καὶ καλύμματα καλεῖται. ὧν τὰ ὑπεράμω, σκύνια. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς γεῖσσα, ἐπισκύνια. καὶ κύλα δέ, καὶ ἀνάκυλα, καὶ ἐπικυλίδες." Vgl. Ruf. corp. hum. appell. (ed. Daremberg/Ruelle, wie oben Fußnote 9) 135, 14 – 136, 4 (Kowalski, Rufi Ephesii, wie oben Fußnote 8, 23, 7 – 24, 4); vgl. auch ebd. Anm. 9.

68 Vgl. Poll. Onom. II 66 (I 91 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8): „τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βλεφάρων γραμμάς, οἷον, ῥυτίδας, ἕλιγγας οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν."

69 Vgl. Poll. Onom. II 69 (I 91 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8), wo mit ταρσός genau der wimpernbewachsene Rand des Augenlides bezeichnet wird: „ὧν δὲ μερῶν αἱ βλεφαρίδες ἐκπεφύκασι, καλοῦνται ἔλυτρα, καὶ ἐντριχώματα, καὶ ὀρχοί, καὶ ταρσοί." Vgl. auch Hyrtl, Onomatologia (wie oben Fußnote 16) 529 f.

70 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 18: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 173, 20 – 24 und 325 f. (deutsche Übersetzung) sowie 410; Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 55, 12 – 156, 4 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

71 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς IV 18: Theophilos, Aufbau (wie oben Fußnote 1) 173, 24 – 28 und 326 (deutsche Übersetzung); Theophilos ed. Greenhill (wie oben Fußnote 11) 156, 4 – 157, 1 mit lateinischer Übersetzung (Crassus 1536, wie oben Fußnote 9).

72 Poll. Onom. II., 68 f. (I 91 Dindorf, wie oben Fußnote 8).

schen Sprachgebrauch zeigt eine ganz bewusste Wortwahl,[73] die innerhalb des Textes durchgängig und nicht nur auf terminologische Referenzen beschränkt zu beobachten ist; auffällig ist allerdings eine deutliche Konzentration lexikographischer Besonderheiten innerhalb des 4. Buches von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς. Die gezielte Gegenüberstellung der ärztlichen und der poetischen Fachterminologie ist hier weniger Ausdruck eines regulären Sprachgebrauches bzw. einer bestimmten Bildungsebene, sondern zeigt vielmehr die Intention des Kompilators von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, eine zuverlässige und präzise Bezeichnung der einzelnen anatomischen Befunde nicht nur zu finden, sondern diese auch didaktisch nachvollziehbar und überzeugend zu begründen. Die fortwährende Aktualisierung und damit auch Präzisierung der medizinischen Fachterminologie ist essentieller Bestandteil einer primär praxis- und zweckorientierten Gebrauchsliteratur, denn je präziser und differenzierter die Beschreibung einer Befundlage ist, umso verlässlichere Therapiekonzepte lassen sich daraus ableiten.[74]

Die Analyse der hier vorgestellten Textsegmente veranschaulicht einerseits die jeweils quellenabhängige Sprachvarietät der Kompilation, andererseits aber auch ihre ganz spezielle Technik, die in der detaillierten Ergänzung der zugrundeliegenden Basisquelle durch die Addition von bedarfsmäßig variierendem Zusatzmaterial besteht. Die Variationsbreite dessen reicht in Einklang mit den lexikographischen Präferenzen des Kompilators von gelehrter Spezialliteratur bis hin zu alltagsbezogener Realienkunde, was seinen Ausdruck in der Vermischung unterschiedlicher Sprachebenen findet. Gerade in der zielgerichteten Verknüpfung variierender Quellendimensionen liegt der signifikante Beitrag von Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς für die Weiterentwicklung und Präzisierung einer spezifischen medizinisch-anatomischen Fachterminologie im Rahmen der byzantinischen medizinischen Gebrauchsliteratur.

73 Darauf weist Giorgianni, Tradizione (wie oben Fußnote 2) 48 Anm. 22 hin mit etlichen Beispielen aus Hesiod.

74 Zur Entwicklung einer rein professionellen Fachterminologie an byzantinischen Krankenhäusern vgl. D.C. Bennett, Medicine and pharmacy in Byzantine hospitals. A study of the extant formularies. *Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 7. Abington / New York 2017, 100.

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'The planks of the Ark': Isho'dad of Merv, John Malalas and the Syriac chronicle tradition

Abstract: In the middle of the ninth century, Isho'dad of Merv, the East Syrian bishop of Haditha wrote extensive commentaries on all of the books of the Old and the New Testament, using a variety of sources, not only exegetical ones. This article offers the first (partial) reconstruction of Isho'dad's Syriac chronographic source, on the basis of a comparison of material in his commentaries on the Old Testament with two Syrian Orthodox chronicles (Michael the Syrian and the *Anonymous Chronicle of 1234*) and one Arabic Melkite chronicle (Agapius of Mabbug). It will be argued that this Syriac chronicle was written between the middle of the sixth century and the middle of the ninth century and was influenced by a variety of sources, most notably the Syriac *Chronicle* of Andronicus and the *Chronicle Epitome* of John Malalas.

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That Isho'dad of Merv (fl. c. 850 CE), the East Syrian bishop of Haditha (Syriac: Hdatta; Persian: Newkart), used a Syriac chronicle when he was writing his commentaries on the Old Testament has since long been recognized.[1] In this article I

The idea for this article grew during a PhD project on the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 at Ghent University, funded by the Ghent University Special Research Fund (BOF), but the article was written during postdoctoral fellowships of the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) at the same university and of the Center for the Study of Christianity at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I would like to thank Peter Van Nuffelen as well as the two anonymous peer reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this article and for providing suggestions for improvement.

1 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, trans. C. Van den Eynde, Commentaire d' Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament. I Genèse. *CSCO*, 156. Leuven 1955, 144, note 7; 146, note 1; 152, note 4; 180 – 181, note 9; S. Castelli, Riferimenti a Flavio Giuseppe nella letteratura siriaca. *Henoch* 23 (2001) 199 – 226, here 222; A. Hilkens, The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its

shall provide a partial reconstruction of this chronicle. On the basis of this reconstruction, I shall argue that it not only contained material from the chronicle of Andronicus, the most influential source for the Syriac chronicle tradition after Eusebius (of whom Andronicus was a critic), but also from the chronicle epitome of John Malalas. This observation allows us to date Isho'dad's chronographic source between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the ninth century and therefore the reception of material from Malalas' pre-Christian narrative in the Syriac post-Eusebian chronicle tradition in the same timeframe as well.

Recently, historiographical material in Isho'dad's commentaries on the Old Testament has been traced back to Andronicus, a presumably Syriac critic and continuator of Eusebius who was probably writing during the reign of Justinian I.[2] The earliest reference to Andronicus appears in a list of Greek Jewish and Christian and Syriac Christian historians in a letter of the Syrian Orthodox bishop and scholar Jacob of Edessa (d. 708 CE) to John the Stylite of Litarba (d. 737/8 CE).[3] More than a century later, Dionysius Tel-Mahre (d. 845 CE) also mentioned Andronicus in a similar list of historians in the preface of his now lost Chronicle, which is preserved only in the Chronicle of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199 CE).[4] However, Dionysius was not referring to Andronicus as a source, but as one of the noteworthy historians in a long Greek and Syriac tradition of history writing in which he wanted to place himself and his work. The ninth-century Syrian Orthodox patriarch would not have had much use for Andronicus' Chronicle, given that his own chronicle covered the period between 582 and 842, which would not overlap with that discussed by Andronicus if he was writing in the time of Justinian I.

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sources. *Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta*, 272. Leuven 2018, 53, 77, 99–101, 104–105, 191–228.

2 On Andronicus, see A. Hilkens, Andronicus et son influence sur la présentation de l'histoire postdiluvienne et pré-Abrahamique de la Chronique anonyme jusqu'à l'année 1234, in P. Van Nuffelen / P. Blaudeau (eds.), Historiographie tardo-antique et transmission des saviors. *Millennium Studies*, 55. Berlin 2015, 55–81; idem, Chronicle, 191–228 (as footnote 1 above); M. Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque. Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam. *Late Antique History and Religion*, 12. Leuven / Paris / Bristol, Ct 2015, 324–326. For the dating of Andronicus in the reign of Justinian, see Elias of Nisibis, Chronicle, vol. 2, ed. E.W. Brooks, Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum. *CSCO*, 62**. Paris 1909, 99; trans. idem, *CSCO*, 63**. Rome / Paris 1910, 111.

3 F. Nau, Lettre de Jacques d'Edesse à Jean le Stylite sur la chronologie biblique et la date de la naissance du Messie. *ROC* 5 (1900) 581–596, here 590–591.

4 Michael, Chronicle X 20, ed. G.Y. Ibrahim, The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great. *Text and translations of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, 1. Piscataway, NJ 2009, 381; trans. J.-B. Chabot, La Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166–1199, 3 vols. Paris 1899–1905, vol. 2, 357–358.

There is no evidence that Andronicus wrote in Greek, as he and his computations are not known outside of Syro-Arabic literature.[5] The assumption that Andronicus wrote in Greek is based on a misinterpretation of a passage in the Chronicle of Elias bar Shenaya, the East Syrian metropolitan of Nisibis (d. 1046 CE). Having dated the activity of Andronicus and having mentioned his chronicle as well as those of Annianus of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea (in that order), Elias claims that during the reign of Khosrow II (d. 628 CE) Simeon Barqaya made a ܦܘܫܩܐ (a term that can be translated as 'commentary' as well as 'translation') of 'this chronicle'. This ܦܘܫܩܐ should probably be identified with the translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, attributed to Simeon of Beth Garmai by Abdisho (d. 1316 CE), one of Elias' successors.[6]

The chronicle of Andronicus may be lost, but it has certainly left its mark on Syriac and Arabic Christian authors as well as Arabic Islamic scholars. Even though he is not always named by his dependants, Andronicus' influence can be discerned in a Syriac Melkite Chronicle[7] of the middle of the seventh century, the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 846,[8] Isho'dad's Syriac commentaries, a scholion on the life of Moses in Egypt before the Exodus in BL Add. 17,193, f. 4rv (dated 874 CE),[9] the Arabic Melkite Chronicle[10] of Agapius of Mabbug (fl.

5 For the theory that the Chronicle of Andronicus was translated from Greek, see A. Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte. Bonn 1922, 135–136 and most recently K. van Bladel, The Arabic Hermes: from pagan sage to prophet of science. *Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity.* Oxford 2009, 140–141. I am thankful to one of the two anonymous reviewers for pointing van Bladel's publication out to me.

6 J.S. Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana III/1. Rome 1725, 633; Debié, Écriture (as footnote 2 above), 608–609; W. Witakowski, The Chronicle of Eusebius: its type and continuation in Syriac Historiography. *Aram* 12 (1999–2000) 419–437, here 427; M. Debié, L'héritage de la chronique d'Eusèbe dans l'historiographie syriaque. *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 6 (2006) 18–28. On the Syriac afterlife of the Chronicle of Eusebius, see also Hilkens, Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 113–143, 191–228 and *passim*.

7 Ed. and trans. in A. de Halleux, La chronique Melkite abrégée du ms. Sinaï syr. 10. *Le Muséon* 91 (1978) 5–44. The date of the Syriac Melkite Chronicle adds credence to Elias' claim that Andronicus was writing in the time of Justinian.

8 This chronicle is made up of a Chronicle of 728 and a continuation until 784/85, see Debié, Écriture (as footnote 4 above), 517–518, 572–573. Ed. in E.W. Brooks, Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens, Chronica minora, Pars secunda. *CSCO Syr.,* 3/4. Paris 1904, 157–238; trans. in J.-B. Chabot, Chronica minora, Pars secunda. *CSCO Syr.* 3/4. Paris 1903, 12–180.

9 Translated in S. Brock, Some Syriac legends concerning Moses. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982) 237–255, here 243–244.

10 Agapius of Mabbug, Chronicle, part I (1), ed. and trans. A.A. Vasiliev, Kitab al-'Unvan, histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, Première partie (I). *PO*, 5. Paris

c. 942 CE), the bilingual Syriac-Arabic Chronicle of Elias of Nisibis (d. 1046 CE), the Syriac Chronicle of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199 CE), the Anonymous Syrian Orthodox Chronicle of 1234[11] and the Syriac Secular Chronicle[12] (Chronicon Syriacum) and the Arabic Chronicle[13] of the Syriac Orthodox maphrian Bar ʻEbroyo (d. 1286).

Agapius, Elias and Bar ʻEbroyo are not the only dependants of Andronicus who wrote in Arabic. The Arabic reception of Andronicus concerns at least two Islamic authors: al-Biruni (d. after 1050 CE) and Ibn Abi Usaybiʻah (d. 1269 CE). As of yet, there is no evidence that Andronicus was known by Muslim scholars before the turn of the eleventh century.[14] Both al-Biruni and Ibn Abi

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1910, 561 – 691; part II (1), ed. and trans. IDEM, Seconde partie (I). *PO*, 7. Paris 1911, 459 – 591.

11 *Chronicle of 1234*, vol. 1, ed. J.-B. CHABOT, Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens I. Praemisssum est chronicon anonymum ad A. D. 819 pertinens. *CSCO*, 81. Paris 1920, trans. IDEM, Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens I. *CSCO*, 109. Leuven 1937.

12 Bar ʻEbroyo mentions Andronicus seven times in his Syriac chronicle; Bar ʻEbroyo, Chronicon Syriacum, ed. P. BEDJAN, Gregorii Barhebræi chronicon Syriacum e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum. Paris 1890, 15 (Joshua bar Nun, 27 years), 16 (oppression by the Philistines, 20 years), 17 (ruled by the elders, 10 years), 27 (seventy years of Captivity until year 2 of Darius), 30 (idem), 37 (Seleucus) and 48 (the Passion of Christ); trans. E. A.W. BUDGE, The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his political history of the word, translated from the Syriac. Oxford 1932, 15 (Joshua bar Nun, 27 years), 16 – 17 (the Philistines, the elders), 27 (seventy years of Captivity until year 2 of Darius), 34 (idem), 40 (Seleucus), 49 (the Passion of Christ). This information is available in the Chronicle of Michael.

13 Andronicus is mentioned only four times in Bar ʻEbroyo, Mukhtasar tarih al-duwal, ed. A. SALIHANI, Tārīḫ muḫtaṣar ad-duwal lil-ʻallāmah Ġrīġūriyūs Abī al-Farağ ibn Hārūn al-Ṭabīb al-Malaṭī al-maʻrūf bi-Ibn al-ʻIbrī. Beyrut 1890, 43 (oppression of the Hebrews by the Philistines, 20 years; Hebrews ruled by the elders, 10 years), 51 (Andronicus as a source for the times of the Greek philosophers) and 83 (seventy years of Captivity of the Hebrews until year 1 of Darius); trans. E. POCOCKE, Historia compendiosa dynastiarum authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, Malatiensi medico, historiam complectens universalem. Oxford 1663, II 27 (oppression by the Philistines, 20 years; ruled by the elders, 10 years), 33 (Andronicus as a source for the times of the Greek philosophers), 54 (seventy years of Captivity until year 1 of Darius). The only reference to Andronicus that is not in Michael is the source reference to Andronicus (and Eusebius), apparently through Jacob of Edessa, for information regarding Greek philosophers.

14 The Islamic astrologer Abu Maʻshar Jaʻfar b. Muhammad b. ʻUmar al-Balkhi (d. 886 CE), an author used by al-Biruni as well as Ibn Abi Usaybiʻah, certainly knew Annianus: VAN BLADEL, The Arabic Hermes (as footnote 5 above) 91, 128 note 31, 141 – 142, 149. In contrast, there is no evidence that Abu Maʻshar also had access to Andronicus. Similarly to Abu Maʻshar, seventy years later, al-Masʻudi (d. 956) also knew Annianus but not Andronicus, see al-Masʻudi, The Book of Admonition and Revision, ed. M.J. DE GOEJE, Kitāb at-tanbīh wa-ʾl-išrāf. Leiden 1894, 154 – 155. In contrast to the claims of VAN BLADEL, The Arabic Hermes (as footnote 5

Usaybi‘ah seem to have accessed Andronicus via East Syrian sources, written in Arabic, rather than an earlier Islamic intermediary. The historian of medicine Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah quotes Andronicus through the East Syrian physician ‘Ubaydallah bar Gabriel bar ‘Ubaydallah bar Bukhtishu (d. 1058 CE) for information about the regnal years of the Roman emperors from Nero until Lucius Verus.[15] The identity of al-Biruni’s source for fragments of Andronicus remains unknown, but was probably an East-Syrian historical text.[16]

One of the earliest dependants of Andronicus, the exegete Isho‘dad of Merv (fl. c. 850), was also a member of the Church of the East. Without mentioning Andronicus by name, Isho‘dad knows several postdiluvian Chaldean and Egyptian kings from his *series regum* (the Chaldean kings Qambirus, Samirus, Kisaronus (but not Arphakid) as well as the Egyptian pharaohs Panophis[17] and Phosinus.[18]

above) 140, there is no indication that Andronicus knew or used Annianus. Neither of the three earliest extant dependants of Andronicus (the Melkite Chronicle of the mid-seventh century, the Chronicle of 846 and Isho‘dad) seem to have been influenced by Annianus. The earliest evidence of the integration of the opinions of Annianus and Andronicus is in fact relatively late, the Chronicle of Elias of Nisibis, which includes chronologies of Annianus and Andronicus. Agapius does preserve the *series regum* of Annianus, but under the name of Africanus, see Agapius, Chronicle, II (1), ed. and trans. 553 – 558. Although in several instances Agapius is clearly dependent on the Syriac chronographic tradition, the way in which he integrated these *series regum* in his work (as a sort of afterthought) suggests that he may have found this material in another source, possibly even an Islamic one.

15 Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah, Sources of instructions about the generations of physicians, trans. L. Kopf, Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah, Ahmad ibn al-Qasim. English translations of History of Physicians (4 v.) and The Book of medicine of Asaph the Physician (2 v.) originally written by Ahmad ibn al-Qasim Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah. Jerusalem 1971, 142 – 151; F. Rosenthal, A history of Muslim historiography. Leiden 1968, 78 – 79. L. E. Goodman, Islamic humanism. Oxford 2003, 171 mistakenly identifies Gabriel bar Bukhtishu (d. 1006), i. e. Gabriel bar ‘Ubaydallah bar Bukhtishu, the father of ‘Ubaydallah bar Gabriel, as the source of Ibn Abi Usaybi‘ah. ‘Ubaydallah bar Gabriel also mentions the chronicle of Elias of Nisibis, but since this text does not preserve Andronicus’ list of Roman emperors, ‘Ubaydallah bar Gabriel must be relying on another dependant of Andronicus.

16 As the material that al-Biruni draws from Andronicus and the Syro-Arabic Christian chronographic tradition is quite extensive, I shall discuss this issue in a forthcoming article. In the meantime I am grateful to one of the two anonymous peer reviewers for pointing me towards van Bladel’s The Arabic Hermes, which has opened up a new avenue of research for me into the (Islamic) reception of Andronicus and the Syriac chronicle tradition.

17 Isho‘dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. J.-M. Vosté / C. van den Eynde, Commentaire d’Išo’dad de Merv sur l’Ancien Testament. I Genèse. *CSCO*, 126. Leuven 1950, 133; trans. 144. Compare with Michael, Chronicle II. 7, ed. 15, trans. I 28.

18 Isho‘dad, Commentary on Exodus, ed. C. Van den Eynde, Commentaire d’Išo’dad de Merv sur l’Ancien Testament. II. Exode-Deutéronome. *CSCO*, 176. Louvain 1958, 17 and trans. idem, *CSCO*, 179. Louvain 1958, 22 (ܦܣܘܢܘܣ). The link between Phosinus (ܦܘܣܝܢܘܣ) and Androni-

Furthermore, other data in the commentaries on the Old Testament of Isho‘dad such as foundations of Near Eastern cities (see below) can be linked to these *series regum*. It is likely that this material also derives from Andronicus, especially because parallels can be found in other dependants of his chronicle. In contrast, part of this material can only be traced back as far as the chronicle that was used by Isho‘dad. The identity of this chronicle remains unknown, because Isho‘dad does not identify his source. It must have been either the chronicle of Andronicus himself or (perhaps more likely) an unknown presumably Syriac dependant of Andronicus.[19] For the purposes of this exercise I shall refer to this text as USC 1 (Unidentified Syriac Chronicle 1).

On the basis of the presence of material from the chronicle of Andronicus in Isho‘dad's commentaries, USC 1 can be dated between the middle of the sixth century, when Andronicus is presumed to have written his chronicle, and the middle of the ninth century, when Isho‘dad was writing his commentaries. Although the identity of its author escapes us, it is possible to reconstruct part of USC 1 by isolating other parallels between Isho‘dad and Syriac and Arabic Christian chronicles. The information that Isho‘dad shares with these historians, whether it can be attributed to Andronicus or not, can be divided into three groups: 1) material shared only by Isho‘dad and Agapius; 2) by Isho‘dad, Agapius and Michael, and 3) by all three sources as well as the Chronicle of 1234.

Isho‘dad and Agapius

The construction of several (unidentified) cities by the Assyrian king Belus[20]
The foundation of Mabbug/Hierapolis and the construction of a temple for the god Cainos by the Assyrian queen Semiramis[21]

cus is independently confirmed by three sources: (1) the fragment of Andronicus in BL Add. 17,193, f. 4rv (see footnote 8); (2) Michael, Chronicle, III. 5, ed. 25–26, trans. vol. 1, 39–40; and (3) Elias, Chronicle, I, ed. 23, trans. 13 who keeps Eusebius' order of Egyptian kings, but equates Eusebius' Psusennes with Andronicus' Phosinus (فسانوس ; ܦܣܘܢܘܣ).

19 Given that Isho‘dad wrote in Syriac and that there is no indication that any of Isho‘dad's sources was written in Arabic, I see no reason to hypothesize the existence of an Arabic dependant of Andronicus before the middle of the ninth century. Even Agapius in the middle of the ninth century seems to only have known Andronicus (or at least his material) through a Syriac rather than an Arabic intermediary.

20 Isho‘dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 134, trans. 146 and Agapius, *Chronicle*, I (1), ed. and trans. 104.

21 Isho‘dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 167, trans. 181 and Agapius, *Chronicle*, I (1), ed. and trans. 108. Although only Isho‘dad and Agapius preserve this entry, the god Cainos is widespread in the Syriac tradition. He is the deified postdiluvian biblical patriarch Cainan who was credited with the invention of astrology by an ancient Jewish tradition in the Book of Jubilees and was identified in several Syriac sources as the first idol and the deity that was wor-

Isho'dad, Agapius and Michael[22]
The location of the Ark of Noah[23]
The invention of coins and jewellery[24]
The murder of king Kisaronus by Hesron,[25] the brother of Terah[26]
The foundation of Susa by king Qambirus[27]

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shipped in the temple at Ur that was destroyed by Abraham according to another tradition in the Book of Jubilees (and Syriac sources). The earliest source for the idea that Cainan was the idol of Ur is a letter of Jacob of Edessa, addressed to John the Stylite of Litarba, on which see S. Brock, Abraham and the Ravens: a Syriac Counterpart To Jubilees 11 – 12 and Its Implications, *JSJ* 9 (1978) 135 – 152. It should be noted that there is no source that equates Cainan and Cainos.

22 A list of seven Jewish sects attributed to Josephus should perhaps also be included in this catalogue, but discrepancies between the witnesses suggest another path of transmission, see Castelli, Riferimenti (as footnote 1 above) 212. For these lists of seven Jewish sects, see M. D. Gibson, The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, vol. 1, *Horae Semiticae*, 5. Cambridge 1911, 87; Agapius, Chronicle, II (1), ed. and trans. 489 – 490; Michael, Chronicle, VI. 1, ed. 97 – 98, trans. vol. 1, 154 – 155. In contrast to the statements of these three authors, Josephus never mentions seven sects, always three (Jewish Antiquities, XVIII. 1.1; Jewish Wars, II. 8.2): the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes. These are the first three mentioned by Isho'dad. The four others in Isho'dad's list are the Ananites (possibly an allusion to the followers of Anan Ben David, the founder of the Karaite movement of Judaism in the eighth century AD), the Herodians, the Zealots and the Nazarenes. The number may be inspired by the seven Jewish sects in the Church History of Eusebius (IV. 22. 6) who cites the Memoirs of Hegesippus (possibly a Jewish convert) for the following list of seven: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothæans, Samaritans, Sadducees and Pharisees. However, Agapius and Michael, who seem to be dependent on a common source (most likely a Syriac historian), mention the Scribes, the Levites, the Sadducees, the Hemerobaptists and also the Nazarenes (who feature in Josephus and Isho'dad, but not in Eusebius). It appears that their common source had also included the Pharisees and the Samaritans, but presumably by error Agapius omits the former and Michael the latter in favour of the Judaeans, of whom Eusebius said that the seven sects opposed them ("the tribe of Judah").

23 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 121, l. 7 – 8, trans. 131; Agapius of Mabbug, Chronicle, part I (1), ed. and trans. 593 – 594; Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, II. 1, ed. 8, trans. I 14.

24 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 133, trans. 145; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 78; and Michael, Chronicle, II. 4, ed. 12, trans. I 23.

25 Two Hesrons are attested in Genesis: a son of Ruben (Genesis 46:9) and a son of Perez (Genesis 46:12). Why Terah's brother received the name Hesron cannot be determined, but the creation of this apocryphal figure was possible due to *Genesis* 11:25 which states that Nahor had other (unnamed) sons and daughters after the birth of Terah.

26 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 134, trans. 146; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 104; and Michael, Chronicle, II. 6, ed. , 14, trans. I, 25.

27 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 134, trans. 146; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 78 and Michael, Chronicle, II. 4, ed. 12, trans. I 23.

The war between Samirus and Kisaronus the Parthian who defeats Samirus, takes his crown (in the shape of two horns) and becomes king of Chaldea himself [28]
The origin of idolatry in the time of Serug[29]
The foundation of Jerusalem (by Melchizedek)[30]
Two biblical Arams: a son of Shem (Genesis 10:22) and a son of Kemuel and a grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother (Genesis 22:21)[31]

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28 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 134, trans. 146; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 79; Michael, Chronicle, II. 5, ed. 13, trans. I 24.

29 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 139, trans. 151; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 71 – 72; Michael, Chronicle, II. 3, ed. 11, trans. I 21. All three witnesses link the origin of idolatry with the origin of war by claiming that idolatry began when mankind began to worship the heroes that had fought their wars. Their common source appears to have connected two unconnected Jewish traditions from the Book of Jubilees about the origins of war and idolatry (Jubilees 11:2 and 11:3 – 4 respectively). Curiously, Isho'dad, Agapius and Michael are not the only ones that combine these two traditions: John Malalas, Chronicle, II. 18 [43], ed. I. Thurn. *CFHB*, 35. Berlin 2000, 38, trans. E. Jeffreys et al., The chronicle of John Malalas. A translation. *BA*, 4. Melbourne 1986, 26 provides a similar, albeit shorter, narrative.

30 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 147, trans. 159; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 105 and Michael, Chronicle, II. 6, ed. 15, trans. I 26. This entry represents a curious case. The testimony of the Melkite Chronicle (de Halleux, La chronique Melkite (as footnote 7 above) 15) suggests that this information came from Andronicus, but Isho'dad refers to the Ecclesiastical History of Zachariah (of Mitylene) as his source for information on a vision of Epiphanius about the identity of the mother and father of Melchizedek (Salathiel and Heraclem), his Canaanite background and his foundation of Jerusalem. Presumably, Isho'dad was influenced by the Syriac (Miscellaneous) History of Pseudo-Zachariah (568/9 CE) rather than the now lost Greek Ecclesiastical History that was written in the first half of the sixth century C.E, one of Pseudo-Zachariah's main sources. Pseudo-Zachariah himself refers to Josephus as his source and indeed, in his Jewish Wars VI. 10. 1 Josephus identifies Melchizedek as Jerusalem's "first builder." It may be relevant that this tradition is also extant in John Malalas, Chronicle, III 2, ed. 41, trans. 28.

31 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 175 – 76, trans. 189; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 110; Michael, Chronicle, III. 1, ed. 19 – 20, trans. I 34 – 35. Michael attributes this information to Jacob of Edessa, but his assertion that Jacob argued for the primacy of Aramaic over Hebrew, i. e. the idea that Aramaic was the language spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise, cannot be true, given the testimony of one of Jacob's letters to John the Stylite of Litarba in which Jacob claims the exact opposite, in response to East Syrian theories about the primacy of Aramaic/Syriac. On Jacob's views, see A. Salvesen, "Hebrew, beloved of God": The Adamic language in the thought of Jacob, bishop of Edessa (c. 633 – 708 CE). unpublished paper 2014, 1 – 12 (available online at https://www.academia.edu/27860402/Salvesen_Adamic_Language_-Jacob.pdf). For the edition and translation of this letter, see W. Wright, Two epistles of Mar Jacob, bishop of Edessa. *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, NS 10 (1867) 430 – 460; F. Nau, Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique). *ROC* 10 (1905) 197 – 208, 258 – 282).

Moses' life before the Exodus.[32]

Isho'dad, Agapius, Michael and the Chronicle of 1234

The foundation of Uruk, Ur and Kala by Nimrod, and Rahbut, Rasan and Kalnai by Nimrod and/or Ninus [33]

The woven crown of king Nimrod[34]

The invention of weapons by Sheba, Ophir and Havilah, the sons of Yoqtan, and the origin of war in their time[35]

The invention of weights, measures and scales[36]

The foundation of Sodom, Gomorrah and Zoar (by Armonius the Canaanite, widower of Zoar and the father of Sodom and Gomorrah)[37]

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32 Isho'dad, Commentary on Exodus, ed. 2–4, trans. 2–6; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 118; Michael, Chronicle, III. 4–5, ed. 25–26, trans. I 39–40. On which, see Brock, Some Syriac legends (as footnote 8 above) and Hilkens, Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 98–101. Isho'dad copied the description of Moses' adoptive mother from the Book of Scholia of the East Syrian exegete Theodore Bar Koni (eighth or first half of the ninth century), but the remainder of his narrative comes from another source, presumably this now lost Syriac chronicle. This is the reason why in the narrative about the early life of Moses that follows the description of Moses' adoptive mother, Isho'dad identifies her father as Palmanothes, following Brock's 'Source A', an unidentified Syriac dependant of Artabanus of Alexandria (possibly through the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius of Caesarea, which preserves fragments of this Hellenistic Jewish historian), and not as Amenophthes, like Michael (and ultimately also Brock's 'Source B', another unidentified Syriac source, a dependant of the chronicle of Eusebius). Isho'dad's fusion of material from Theodore bar Koni's Book of Scholia and his Syriac chronographic source is the reason why Brock concluded that Isho'dad mixed material from Source A and Source B.

33 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 133 and 140, trans. 144–5 and 152; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), 631; Michael, Chronicle, II. 3 and 6, ed. 9–10, 15, trans. I 20 and 26. Uruk, Ur and Kala are identified with Edessa, Nisibis and Ctesiphon. Chronicle of 1234, vol. 1, ed. 48, trans. 36 only mentions the foundation of Edessa but is probably dependent on the same tradition.

34 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 133, trans. 144; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 631; Michael, Chronicle, II. 3, ed. 10 and 12, trans. I 19 and 22, who identifies 'the second book of Asaph' as a source; Chronicle of 1234, I ed. 47, trans. 35. Michael and the Chronicle of 1234 date this event to ten years after the division of languages.

35 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 133, trans. 144–145; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 76–77; Michael, Chronicle, II. 3, ed. 12, trans. I 22; Chronicle of 1234, vol. 1, ed. 49–50, trans. 36–37. This seems to be a fusion of a tradition, extant in the Cave of Treasures, and a tradition from the Book of Jubilees 11:2 about the origin of war.

36 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 134; trans. 146; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 79; Michael, Chronicle, II. 4, ed. 12, ed. 13, trans. I 24; and Chronicle of 1234, vol. 1, ed. 50, trans. 37.

37 Isho'dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 167, trans. 180–181; Agapius, Chronicle, I (1), ed. and trans. 80; Michael, Chronicle, II. 5, ed. 12, trans. 25–26; and Chronicle of 1234, I ed. 50, trans. 37.

Some initial observations can be made concerning the origin of this information. First, the majority is somehow connected to Andronicus' *series regum*, others can be traced back to the Book of Jubilees and Flavius Josephus. Second, some themes can be detected in this collection of data: there is a clear focus on 'firsts', i. e. inventions of items or processes, key elements of human culture such as war, idolatry or foundations of cities. Clearly, this information was once part of an elaborate reconstruction of the history between the Flood and the early life of Abraham, as well as the early life of Moses. Andronicus, or whomever introduced this material in the Syriac chronicle tradition, attempted to fill the gap in knowledge about this period in late ancient post-Eusebian Syriac chronography.[38]

The remainder of this article is devoted to an entry on the location of the Ark of Noah in Isho'dad's commentary on Genesis, for which parallels can be found in Agapius and Michael. This entry stands out because of an incorrect source reference to Flavius Josephus and as such it is a key piece of evidence for the reconstruction of USC 1, Isho'dad's source, because it connects Isho'dad to the Syriac reception of Malalas, who appears to be the origin of this tradition. If this assessment is correct, Isho'dad's testimony allows us to move forward by a century the Syriac reception of information from Malalas' pre-Christian narrative as well as the fusion of material from Andronicus and Malalas in the Syriac chronicle tradition.[39]

38 Hilkens, Andronicus et son influence (as footnote 2 above). A similar process is visible in the historical reconstruction of that period by a possible contemporary of Andronicus, Malalas, who integrated several firsts into his chronicle epitome, see E. Jeffreys, Malalas' world view, in E. Jeffreys et al. (eds.), Studies in John Malalas. *BA*, 6. Sydney 1990, 55 – 66, here 61.

39 Already in the third quarter of the sixth century the Syriac church historian John of Ephesus used information from Malalas on the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, see W. Witakowski, Malalas in Syriac, in: Jeffreys, Studies in John Malalas, 299 – 310; M. Debié, Jean Malalas et la tradition chronographique de langue syriaque, in S. Agusta-Boularot et al. (eds.), Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas I. *Monographies du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Collège de France*, 15. Paris 2004, 147 – 164; Hilkens, Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 204 – 208.

Isho‘dad[40]	Agapius[41]	Michael[42]
ܝܘܣܦܘܣ: ܕܐܦܐܡܝܐ ܘܦܝܣܝܕܝܐ ܣܝܡܝܢ ܕܦܣ̈ܬܗ ܕܩܒܘܬܐ	وزعم يوسيفوس العبرانى الحكيم الذى كتب على خراب بيت القدس بعد صعود سيّدنا المسيح الى السما ان دفوف التابوت فى مدينة افامية	ܫܒܩܘܗ̇ ܕܝܢ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܝܘܣܦܘܣ: ܒܐܦܐܡܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܣ ܕܦܝܣܝܕܝܐ. ܘܬܡܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܦܣ̈ܬܗ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪܢܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ..
Josephus: the planks of the Ark are deposed in Apamea and Pisidia.	Josephus, the wise Hebrew who wrote about the destruction of Jerusalem after the ascension of Christ our Lord, says that the planks of the Ark are in the city of Apamea.	They abandoned the Ark, as Josephus says, in Apamea, the city that is the metropolis of Pisidia. Its planks are (still) there. Others state it differently.

All three Syriac and Arabic authors claim that the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus located the remains of the Ark in Apamea, the metropolis of Pisidia, a region in southern Asia Minor. This unanimous statement has baffled scholars, because it does not correspond to Josephus’ opinion on the matter.[43] His *Jewish Antiquities* only records the traditional theory that identifies Armenia as the last resting place of the Ark.[44] However, there is one possible explanation for this incorrect attribution of the Apamaean tradition to Josephus: it may result from a misinterpretation (or conscious misrepresentation) of a passage from the first book of Malalas’ chronicle epitome.

> Μετὰ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν κατακλυσμὸν καὶ τὰ ὕδατα λωφῆσαι εὑρέθη αὕτη ἡ κιβωτὸς καθίσασα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Ἀραρὰτ τῆς Πισιδίας ἐπαρχίας, ἧστινός ἐστιν μητρόπολις Ἀπάμεια καὶ ἔστιν τὰ ξύλα αὐτῆς ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς νῦν, ὡς συνεγράψατο Πέργαμος ὁ Παμφύλιος. Ἰώσηπος δὲ καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου καὶ ἄλλοι χρονογράφοι ἐξέθεντο, ὅτι τὰ ὄρη Ἀραράτ ἐστιν ἐπί τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ μεταξὺ Πάρθων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῶν. κἀκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτός.

40 Isho‘dad, Commentary on Genesis, ed. 121, l. 7 – 8, trans. 131. Castelli, Riferimenti (as footnote 1 above) 211 already made the connection between Isho‘dad’s testimony and that of Agapius and Michael.

41 Agapius of Mabbug, Chronicle, part I (1), ed. and trans. 593 – 594.

42 Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, II. 1, ed. 8, trans. I 14.

43 Castelli, Riferimenti (as footnote 1 above) 211.

44 Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, I. 3.5.

> After the flood had ceased and the waters had abated, the ark was found to have settled on the mountains of Ararat in the province of Pisidia, whose metropolis is Apamea. Its timbers are there to the present day, as Pergamus the Pamphylian has written. Josephus and Eusebius Pamphilos and other chroniclers have stated that the mountains of Ararat are near Armenia, between the Parthians, the Armenians and the Adiabenes, and the ark settled there.[45]

Having discussed the human and animal passengers on the Ark, Malalas offers two opinions on the exact location of Ararat, the mountain on which the Ark stranded after the Flood. He seems to agree with the otherwise unknown Pergamus of Pamphylia who locates Ararat 'in the province of Pisidia, whose metropolis is Apamea'.[46] At the same time, however, Malalas also includes the theory that Ararat was a mountain in Armenia. The close proximity of these two opinions seems to be the origin of the mistaken attribution of Pergamus' opinion to Josephus in the three Syriac and Arabic sources. A Syriac dependant of Malalas was probably responsible for this change that may or may not have been intentional.[47] Most likely, it was the same historian who also transmitted into Syriac several of Malalas' versions of episodes from Graeco-Roman mythology such as the burial of Zeus on Crete, the Trojan War, and a collection of information on the foundation and history of Rome (on Romulus and even the legend of Caesar's birth by Caesarean section).[48] From there this information ended up in the biblical commentaries of Isho'dad and in the chronicles of Agapius, of Michael and

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45 John Malalas, Chronicle, I. 4, ed. 7, trans. 4 [modified].

46 On Pergamus, see E. Jeffreys, Malalas' sources, in Jeffreys, Studies in John Malalas (as footnote 38 abobve), 167–216, here 189, and W. Treadgold, The Byzantine world histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania. *The International History Review* 29 (2007) 709–745, here 743–744, note 2, who suggests that there could be a relation between Pergamus the Pamphylian and a source of Eustathius called Pergamius.

47 It seems plausible that this was a conscious misattribution of this tradition to Josephus. The Syriac chronicler who quarried Malalas for information may have realized that his readers would never have heard of Pergamus but would have been familiar with the Jewish historian Josephus, famous for his description of the Roman capture of Jerusalem.

48 A. Hilkens, Syriac Iliupersides: the fall of Troy in Syriac historiography. *Le Muséon* 126–4 (2013) 285–317, here 297–301, and idem, A new fragment of the narratives of Conon. *GRBS* 56 (2016) 611–622. That Malalas also preserves similar traditions about the origin of idolatry in the time of Serug and the foundation of Jerusalem by Melchizedek (see notes 20 and 21 respectively) could indicate that these too are based on information from Malalas' chronicle epitome, but it is equally possible that Andronicus and Malalas included Syrian traditions in their narratives. The Syriac dependant of Malalas may also have highlighted the origin of consular largess (*hypateia*), a detail not in Malalas, that is preserved by Agapius and Michael in close connection to the material about Rome's foundation and its early history, see Hilkens, Syriac Iliupersides, 301, note 104.

of 1234.[49] Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether it was USC 1, Isho'dad's source, who accessed Malalas. Therefore, we must allow for the possibility that another unidentified Syriac chronicle, USC 2, functioned as an intermediary between Malalas and USC 1. How USC 2 would then relate to Agapius, Michael and the Chronicle of 1234 cannot be determined.

That Isho'dad's source, this dependant of Malalas, was a chronicle and not another historical text seems to be implied by its sources: not only Malalas but also the chronicle of Andronicus (and presumably therefore also the chronicle of Eusebius). In any case, the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus (d. 588), the most well-known Syriac dependant of Malalas, can be excluded from the pool of candidates for the position of USC 2 and/or USC 1. There was no place for information on biblical history and Graeco-Roman mythology in John's Ecclesiastical History who began his narrative with Julius Caesar. John's reliance on Malalas appears to be limited to the fourth to sixth centuries, especially information about events at Antioch.[50] On the other hand, the anonymous author of the so-called Syriac Chronicle on Classical Antiquity, which is attributed to Diocles (of Peparethos, late fourth to early third century BCE) and which discusses the myths of Hercules' discovery of the purple and Romulus' foundation of Rome that are also attested in Malalas, probably relied on the same source as Malalas not on Malalas himself.[51] The information offered by this narrative text (it was probably not a chronicle) is similar but not identical to that in Malalas' chronicle epitome and also differs from that in Agapius, Michael and the Chronicle of 1234.

Two known now lost Syriac chronicles are known to have covered pre-Christian times and therefore fit the description of this dependant of Malalas: the chronicle of Andronicus itself and the chronological canons of the Syriac Orthodox John the Stylite of Litarba (d. 737/8 CE). Ultimately, however, we must also be aware of our inability to ascertain the identity of Isho'dad's source (USC 1) and its position in the process of transmission of this material from Malalas into Syriac, which may have occurred through an earlier source (USC 2). It is therefore theoretically possible (albeit unlikely) that Andronicus, the Syriac dependant of Malalas (USC 2) and Isho'dad's source (USC 1) are all one and the same. If Andronicus was indeed writing during the reign of Justinian, it is possible that

49 Neither Isho'dad, Agapius, Michael nor the Chronicle of 1234 identify Malalas – or John of Antioch as he is referred to in Syriac – as the source for any of this information.

50 Witakowski, Malalas in Syriac (as footnote 39 above) 299–310; Debié, Jean Malalas (as footnote 39 above) 148–150; Hilkens, Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 161–162, 168–170.

51 Debié, Jean Malalas (as footnote 39 above) 150–153.

he had access to Malalas' chronicle epitome, the first version of which was already circulating in the 530s. Unfortunately, although we can be certain of the fact that Andronicus was a dependant and critic of Eusebius, there is no indication whatsoever of his use of Malalas.[52] Nevertheless, the *argumentum e silentio* does not rule out this option.

Another possible candidate is John the Stylite of Litarba. Presumably influenced by his friend and fellow chronicler Jacob of Edessa with whom he corresponded, John wrote chronological canons in the Eusebian tradition. Unlike Jacob however, John also covered pre-Christian history, starting with Creation until 726 CE.[53] John's list of Jewish high priests as well as some episodes of ancient Jewish history appear to have ended up in the chronicles of Michael as well as Agapius.[54] Yet, there is no evidence that indicates that Isho'dad used John's writings. Furthermore, we have no information about John's sources. Although it does seem plausible that John was dependent on Eusebius, an influential source for the Syriac Orthodox chronicle tradition, there is no indication of his reliance on Malalas. Even his use of Andronicus, which seems plausible, cannot be proven. Ultimately therefore, we cannot be sure that the presence of material from Malalas' chronicle epitome in Agapius and Michael is connected to their (presumed) common reliance on John. It is possible that Agapius and Michael copied this information from another source. Not all the similarities between these two chronicles necessarily go back to the same source. We know, for instance, that for their accounts on the 'Abbasid revolution in 750, Agapius and Michael were both influenced by the historical narratives of Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785 CE). These narratives (perhaps bundled in a classicizing history) were used by Agapius and Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, whose History was in turn a significant source of information for Michael and the author of the Chronicle of 1204

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52 Andronicus' identification of Phosinos as the Pharaoh of the oppression seems more likely to be based on Eusebius' Psusennes than on Malalas' Petissonius (*contra* Brock, Some Syriac legends (as footnote 8 above) 245).

53 Debié, L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque (as footnote 2 above) 554–555. Jacob, who continued the chronological canons of Eusebius down to 708, does appear to have added a list of Jewish high priests, presumably as a preamble to his lists of patriarchs, in the chronography that preceded the canons, see W. Witakowski, The chronicle of Jacob of Edessa, in B. ter Haar Romeny (ed.), Jacob of Edessa and the culture of his day. *Studies in the Syriac versions of the bible and their cultural context*, 18. Leiden / Boston 2008, 25–47.

54 For remarks about the succession of the Jewish high priests and the martyrdom of Shmuni and her seven sons, as well as the dating of the story of Esther, see Hilkens, A new fragment (as footnote 48) 620–621.

(the oldest core of the Chronicle of 1234).[55] Admittedly, this material pertains to a much later period, but it does show that we must refrain from attributing all the material that is shared by these chroniclers to the same common source.[56]

In the end, this exploration of Isho'dad's sources has resulted in a partial reconstruction of a Syriac chronicle (USC 1) that Isho'dad quarried for information on the history between the Flood and the early life of Abraham, and on the life of Moses before the Exodus. All we know for certain about this chronicle is that it was written by an unknown Syriac Christian who lived between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the ninth century and that it included material from two chronicles of the mid-sixth century: Andronicus and Malalas. Not only are we unable to ascertain the identity of Isho'dad's source (or its ecclesiastical affiliation!), it is also not possible to determine whether this text was the chronicle that transmitted information from Malalas into Syriac (USC 2), independently from John of Ephesus. The identity of these sources shall remain unknown until such a time that more material is brought to light. In this respect, I am fairly certain that *Quellenforschung* can still yield valuable results. Especially for the field of Syriac and Arabic historiography, this approach still has merit. A next step in this process will therefore be the study of the sources of Agapius and Michael which will surely result in reconstructions of one or more of their common sources.[57]

55 Hilkens, The Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 267–279 (esp. 276–277); Debié, Écriture (as footnote 2 above) 143–149.

56 The classic example of the maximalist view on Theophilus is R.G. Hoyland, Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late antiquity and early Islam. *Translated Texts for Historians*, 57. Liverpool 2011.

57 Vasiliev's references to the comparable material in the chronicle of Michael in the footnotes to his edition and translation of the Chronicle of Agapius are extremely helpful in this regard. For instance, Agapius, Michael and the Chronicle of 1234 often diverge from Eusebius in exactly the same way. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine to which source – a Syriac translation of Eusebius, Andronicus or even John of Litarba – these discrepancies go back, Hilkens, Chronicle (as footnote 1 above) 123.

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Die Entstehungszeit des *Calvitii encomium* von Synesios

Abstract: If we take into account all chronologically relevant data, the book must have been written in 404, perhaps in 403 or in the winter of 405. A passage of *Calv. enc.* implies that Synesius was married when composing the essay as, in fact, he had been since 402 or 403. This *terminus post quem* is corroborated by the identification of Synesius' *Epistle* 74 as accompanying letter for the *Praise of Baldness* which was sent after the author's return to Cyrene in 401. Also, *Calv. enc.* shows a connection to Synesius' *Dion* from 404. As for the *terminus ante quem*, it is set clearly by the war that broke out in 405, since Synesius would not have been able to write this hilarious literary piece under the conditions of war and most likely not even later in his lifetime.

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Es ist die Absicht der vorliegenden Untersuchung, die Datierung von Synesios' *Lob der Kahlheit*[1] vorzunehmen. Die zu gewinnende Einsicht soll die Schrift in das Werk des Autors einordnen und so das Gesamtbild seiner Biographie ergänzen. Allerdings kann hier nur von einem Ringen um die chronologische Bestimmung die Rede sein, denn das *Calvitii encomium* verweigert sich beharrlich allen bis-

Ich möchte mich hiermit bei den Kollegen Birgit Knapp, Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Julian Lünser und weiteren für die sprachlichen Korrekturen meines Manuskriptes herzlich bedanken.

1 Hier wird die Textausgabe von J. Lamoureux benutzt, weil sie den Texten der *Opuscula* im Vergleich mit der *editio maior* von N. Terzaghi noch ein weiteres Manuskript zu Grunde legt (*Athous Vatopedinus* 685, nach Lamoureux' Kennzeichnung M); in J. Lamoureux / N. Aujoulat, Synésios de Cyrène IV: Opuscules I. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2004, xxi, xxvi–xxvii, lxxxv, vgl. auch xxx–xxxi und xliii Anm. 55; N. Terzaghi, Synesii Cyrenensis Opuscula. Romae, Typis regiae officinae polygraphicae, 1944. Bei Hinweisen auf die *Opuscula* steht die Nummerierung Aujoulats vor dem Schrägstrich, die Seiten- und Zeilenangaben Terzaghis danach (z. B. *Calv. enc.* 10, 5 / 209, 8 – 15). Die Briefnummern folgen der Ausgabe von A. Garzya, in ders. / D. Roques, Synésios de Cyrène, Tome II: Correspondance (Lettres i–lxiii) und Tome III: Correspondance (Lettres lxiv–clvi). Paris 2003.

herigen Datierungsversuchen. Trotzdem muss sich jede künftige Gesamtdarstellung des Werkes von Synesios bemühen, auch dem *Calv. enc.* seine richtige Stelle zuzuweisen. Das Ziel ist, das ganze Œuvre des Synesios auf datierungsrelevante Andeutungen hin zu überprüfen und eine neue, möglichst gründlich belegte Datierung vorzustellen.

Forschungsübersicht und eine methodische Bemerkung

In der Synesiosforschung scheint es, als ob unsere Frage keinen richtigen Anhaltspunkt hätte, an welchem wir sie fassen könnten. Weder die Schrift selber, die fast ausschließlich aus literarischen und historischen Beispielen besteht, noch äußere Zusammenhänge, wie der reichhaltige Lebenslauf des Kyrenäers, bieten einem Datierungsversuch einen zuverlässigen Boden für eine genaue Erforschung.

Es gibt bisher drei Grundlinien der Argumentation, die ich hier jedoch nur ansatzweise abhandeln kann. Erstens: Nicola Terzaghi hat 1912[2] ein quasi-formales Kriterium verwandt, das bis heute im Gespräch ist[3] und den Text in die letzten zwei oder drei Jahre des Lebens von Synesios (370–413) datieren würde. Bekanntlich schreibt das so genannte Satzschlussgesetz bei jedem prosaischen Satz zwei, vier oder sechs Silben zwischen den letzten zwei Akzenten vor. Die meisten Schriften des Synesios weisen einen chronologisch abnehmenden Anteil von Verstößen gegen diese Regel auf. Die von Terzaghi berechneten Prozente[4] von Verstößen entsprechen tatsächlich dem Prinzip ‚je mehr Fehler, desto älter die

2 N. Terzaghi, Le clausole ritmiche negli opuscoli di Sinesio. *Didaskaleion* 1/2 und 1/3 (1912) 205–225 und 319–360.

3 H. Seng, An den Haaren herbeigezogen. Sophistische Argumentation im *Encomium calvitii*, in ders. / L. M. Hoffmann (Hrsg.), Synesios von Kyrene: Politik – Literatur – Philosophie. Turnhout 2013, 125–143, hier 136; K. Luchner, Einführung, in dies. (Hrsg.), Synesios von Kyrene: Polis – Freundschaft – Jenseitsstrafen. Briefe an und über Johannes. Tübingen 2010, 1–35, hier 11 Anm. 53. Beide Texte konzentrieren sich natürlich nicht auf dieses Problem. Im Gegensatz dazu ist Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 1–3, 9, bes. 3 Anm. 11, gegenüber dieser Methode im Allgemeinen skeptisch, auch wenn er zugibt, dass Synesios in *Calv. enc.* die Akzentregel angewandt hat. Das aber würde voraussetzen, dass das Buch in Synesios' Jugendzeit entstanden ist, was aber nicht der Fall ist, wie wir unten in diesem Abschnitt zeigen.

4 Terzaghi, Le clausole (wie oben Fußnote 2). An den Angaben Terzaghis ist zu Recht methodische Kritik geübt worden: S. Skimina, État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose grecque. Lwów 1930, 44; siehe auch H. B. Dewing, The origin of accentual prose rhythm in Greek. *American Journal of Philology* 31 (1910) 312–328, der darauf aufmerksam macht, wie sich mit unterschiedlichen Methoden unterschiedliche Fehlerzahlen ergeben (S. 321).

Schrift‘: *Ad Paeonium* aus dem Jahre 397 hat rund 16 %, *De regno* von 397 / 398: 12 %, *De providentia* von 400: 11 %, *Dion* von 404: 10 %, *De insomniis* von 404: 8 %, *Catastasis* 2 von 411: 3 %. Nach dieser Logik würde der Wert von nur 3 % Fehlern im undatierten *Calv. enc.* dieses zwischen 411 – 413 einreihen.[5] Das Problem liegt eben darin, dass die Korrelation zwischen Zeit und Fehlerzahl bei den anderen Texten unvermeidlich nur eine zufällige ist und kein Grund dafür besteht, dass diese scheinbare Abhängigkeit auf eine mechanische Art und Weise auch auf *Calv. enc.* bezogen werden dürfte.[6] Übrigens hat der italienische Koryphäe der synesianischen Textologie selbst Abstand von den eigenen Resultaten genommen[7], später (1917) seine formal bedingte Datierung von *Calv. enc.* geändert und damit im Fall von *Calv. enc.* auf das Datierungsprinzip verzichtet.[8]

Zweitens: Aus der historischen Betrachtung von Texten und Lebenswelt des Synesios resultiert eine weitere falsche Datierung, diesmal in die neunziger Jahre des vierten Jahrhunderts. Sie stammt von Christian Lacombrade 1951 und wird in der Forschung weithin akzeptiert; auch Noël Aujoulat, der sich 2004 mit der Frage ausführlich beschäftigt hat, hat sie teilweise übernommen.[9] Hinweise Lacomb-

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5 Alle Prozentzahlen und der allgemeine Beschluss Terzaghi, Le clausole (wie oben Fußnote 2) 352 f.; detailliert herausgearbeitete Datierungen bei Al. Cameron / J. Long, Barbarians and politics at the court of Arcadius. Berkeley 1993, bes. 107 – 109, auch 117 f. (zu *De reg.*; vgl. D. Roques, Études sur la correspondance de Synésios de Cyrène. Bruxelles 1989, 246, der *De reg.* ins Jahr 400 setzte), 314 – 316 u. a. (zu *De provid.*), 84 – 102 (zu *Ad Paeon.* und der Reise); Roques, ebd. 200 f. (zu *Catast.* 2).

6 Wir nehmen hier mit diesem Hinweis vorlieb, auch wenn weitere Gegenargumente entwickelt werden könnten: *Catast.* 2 ist zu kurz für einen aussagekräftigen Vergleich mit den längeren Texten (so schon Terzaghi, Le clausole, wie oben Fußnote 2, 352, selbst für *Catast.* 1 und beide *Homilien*); die Unterschiede zwischen den Verstößen in einzelnen Texten sind so gering, dass sich keine zwingenden Schlüsse für *Calv. enc.* daraus ziehen lassen; das zweite Buch von *De provid.* ist unredigiert geblieben, was die Zahl der Fehler beeinflussen muss (zum letzten Argument Cameron / Long, Barbarians, wie oben Fußnote 5, vor allem 379 Anm. 226, auch S. 91 – 102. Auch die philosophische Psychologie in *De provid.* 1, 1, 2 – l, 2, 1 / 64, 17 – 66, 3 und 2, 6, 1 / 125, 12 – 20 steht in vollkommenem Widerspruch zu sich selbst).

7 Terzaghi, Le clausole (wie oben Fußnote 2) 322 f., 331, 353.

8 N. Terzaghi, Sinesio di Cirene. *Atene e Roma* 20 (1917) 1 – 37, hier 23 f., bes. 24 Anm. 2.

9 C. Lacombrade, Synésios de Cyrène: Hellène et Chrétien. Paris 1951, 77 – 80; Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 1 – 10, 28. Die Datierung in die nicht näher bestimmte Jugendzeit der ersten Hälfte der neunziger Jahre, die Lacombrade, ebd. 79 (Nr. 5) skizziert hat (wiederholt in ders., Synésios de Cyrène. Tome I: Hymnes. Paris 2003 [[1]1978]), wird übernommen z. B. von I. Tanaseanu-Döbler, Konversion zur Philosophie in der Spätantike. Kaiser Julian und Synesios von Kyrene. Stuttgart 2008, 164; M.-H. Congourdeau, Compte rendu: Lamoureux/ Aujoulat, Synésios IV. *RÉB* 64 (2005) 243; J. Bregman, Synesius of Cyrene. Philosopher-bishop. Berkeley 1982, 22 (all diese Autoren gehen dieser speziellen Frage nicht nach). Seng, An den Haaren (wie oben Fußnote 3) 137, bemerkt zutreffend, dass die Passage *Dion* 1 – 3 dahinter

rades auf den in *Calv. enc.* 1f. behandelten Haarausfall des Synesios widersprechen der Datierung der Schrift in die Jugendzeit,[10] weil der Autor sich hier augenscheinlich an seine Reflexion über das schütter werdende Haar in einer nicht näher bestimmten, aber sicherlich schon länger zurückliegenden Vergangenheit erinnert (vgl. 2,1 / 191,13 – 17). In Hinblick auf die gewöhnliche Haarausfallszeit bei Männern, d. h. in ihren zwanziger Jahren,[11] fällt die Erinnerung des Synesios in die neunziger Jahre. Handelt es sich in Kap. 1– 2 tatsächlich um keine aus unmittelbar gegebenem Anlass geschriebene Nachricht, dürfen wir sie nicht in die Zeit der höchst dramatisch erlebten *Allopecia androgenetica* setzen. Überdies hält sich der Autor nach 18, 2 / 222, 20 – 223, 2 selbst (ἡμῖν) für einen älteren Mann. Lacombrade baute auch auf seinen Überzeugungen auf, dass Synesios beim Schreiben von *Calv. enc.* noch nicht verheiratet gewesen sei (dagegen unser Punkt 2) und dass es einen Krieg mit den Berbern im Jahre 395 gegeben habe, vor dem Synesios *Calv. enc.* geschrieben haben müsse (dazu Punkte 3 – 4). Da auch die beiden letztgenannten Fixpunkte seiner Datierung falsch sind,[12] können die späten zwanziger Jahre des Synesios (etwa 395 – 398) für *Calv. enc.* mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden. Schließlich überzeugt auch der Hinweis auf die Abwesenheit von Christlichem nicht zu einer Frühdatierung, denn Synesios konnte zu jeder Zeit rein klassizistische Werke produzieren. Darüber hinaus kann sein Leben nicht, wie noch in der Auffassung Lacombrades, in eine vor- und eine christliche Phase geteilt werden.[13]

Auch der dritte und letzte chronologische Festlegungsversuch geht, wie der zweite, davon aus, was methodisch für faktische Gegebenheiten gehalten wird.

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stecken mag, dass moderne Interpreten *Calv. enc.* in die Jugendzeit datieren. Nach dem Abschnitt sei Synesios in seiner Jugendzeit ein Sophist gewesen, was zur Ansicht führt, er habe in dieser Lebensphase das sophistische *Calv. enc.* geschrieben.

10 Lacombrade, Synésios (wie oben Fußnote 9) 79 (Nr. 1). Auch Lacombrades Argument Nr. 2 (ebd.), d. h., dass Synesios sich im Buch auf Themen konzentriere, die junge Männer beschäftigen, ist durch den hier oben im Text genannten Hinweis auf 18, 2 / 222, 20 – 223, 2 entkräftet. Zu meiner wesentlich unterschiedlichen Beurteilung der Themenwahl in *Calv. enc.* s. unten bei Punkt 2.

11 J. Gray / R. Dawber, Pocketbook of hair and scalp disorders. An illustrated guide. Malden, MA 1999, Kap. 2. Wenn das für Synesios schon außerordentlich früh ein Problem gewesen wäre, hätte er laut T. Schmitt (Die Bekehrung des Synesios von Kyrene: Politik und Philosophie, Hof und Provinz als Handlungsräume eines Aristokraten bis zu seiner Wahl zum Metropoliten von Ptolemais. München 2001, 74) eine solch auffällige Erscheinung irgendwie ausgenutzt.

12 Lacombrade, Synésios (wie oben Fußnote 9) 76 f.; vgl. noch Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 8. Gegen den Ausbruch des Konfliktes im Jahre 395 wendet sich besonders Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 11) 566 – 573.

13 Diese Annahme vertritt u. a. auch Schmitt, ebd. 47; zur heute überwundenen Vorstellung einer christlichen Konversion des Synesios s. detailliert Tanaseanu-Döbler, Konversion (wie oben Fußnote 9).

Daraus ergeben sich diesmal aber die Jahre 400 – 405 (Tassilo Schmitt 2001), 402 oder 404 (beide wieder Aujoulat 2004). Nach einer interessanten These Schmitts von 2001 wollte sich Synesios mit Hilfe des *adoxon* einem bestimmten Publikum in Konstantinopel als schlauen Sophisten präsentieren.[14] Er habe zeigen wollen, dass er es vermag, den schwächeren λόγος zu einem stärkeren (und umgekehrt) zu machen, auch wenn dies eine ‚unmögliche' Verteidigung der Glatze sein sollte.[15] Genau diese sophistische Fähigkeit hätten Bekannte von Synesios in der Hauptstadt machtpolitisch gebrauchen können. Nach dem Scheitern seiner Ambitionen bei Hof im Jahre 400 verließ er das höchst unzuverlässige Milieu, nichtsdestoweniger versandte er danach bis 405 als Vorbereitung auf seine Rückkehr Briefe,[16] Geschenke[17] und vielleicht auch das absurde Beispiel von Sophisterei.

Aujoulat argumentiert zwar für das Jahr 404, was am Ende auch mein Resultat sein wird, aber der hervorragende Synesioskenner ist auf Grund unterschiedlicher, vor allem jedoch unzureichender und auch irriger Beweisgründe auf dieses Datum gekommen. Nach seiner Beweisführung sollte eine sehr allgemeine Ähnlichkeit des *Calv. enc.* mit *Dion* 12 und *De ins.* 19 f. genügen, um die chronologische Brücke zu bauen.[18] Die beiden letztgenannten Bücher sind zwar nachweislich 404 ent-

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14 Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 11) 37, 75 mit Anm. 20; 393 – 425, 764 Anm. 152 (vgl. H. Sengs Besprechung in *Gymnasium* 110, 2003, 290 – 293, hier 292).

15 *Adoxa* sollten eben die unbedeutendsten Gegenstände, Erscheinungen oder Personen rühmen. Die Gattung wurde grundlegend behandelt von A. S. Pease, Things without honor. *Classical Philology* 21 (1926), 27 – 42.

16 *Ep.* 61, 74, 101, 129, 131, 134 (an den Juristen Pylaimenes), *Ep.* 26, 118, 123 (an den Sophisten Troïlos, seit 405 Berater des Präfekten und faktischen ‚Vize-Kaisers' Anthemios, vgl. Socr. Schol. *Hist. eccl.* 7, 1 u. a.), *Ep.* 119 (an den ehemaligen Statthalter der Kyrenaïka Tryphon), *Ep.* 1 (an einen Nikandros in Konstantinopel); unter den Personen, an die Grüße gerichtet werden, ist auch ein Markianos, ehemaliger Statthalter in Paphlagonien (*Ep.* 119, 9; 101, 66 – 78); in *Ep.* 134, 37 ist ein nicht erhaltener Brief an einen Konstantinopler Priester namens Proklos erwähnt.

17 Saft der für Kyrene emblematischen Pflanze σίλφιον, Wein, Öl, Strauße in *Ep.* 134 (vgl. 129, 36), ein ägyptischer Teppich 61, eigene literarische Werke 1 und 74. Das *Calv. enc.* hat das Publikum vielleicht an die gelungene Passage *De reg.* 16, 9 / 38, 3 – 6 erinnern sollen und Synesios hat ggf. den intertextuellen Zusammenhang ausnutzen wollen, um sich bei seiner Leserschaft in Erinnerung zu rufen.

18 Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 9 f. („passages animés de la même verve fantaisiste et railleuse que celle qui soulève [*Calv. enc.*]") mit Anm. 39. Enige Forscher aus der Gründungszeit der Synesiosforschung haben auf sehr ähnliche Weise *Calv. enc.* mit *Dion* und *De ins.* zeitlich verbunden, jedoch ohne eingehende Argumentation. G. Grützmacher, Synesios von Kyrene: ein Charakterbild aus dem Untergang des Hellenentums. Leipzig 1913, 85 f. mit Anm. 3 f., hat das *Calv. enc.* zwischen die Rückkehr 402 und *De ins.* mit *Dion* in die Jahre 403 – 405 angesetzt. Grützmacher selbst ist einigen vorigen Gelehrten gefolgt, u. a. F. X. Kraus, Studien über Synesios von Kyrene. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 47 (1865), 398 f., oder H. Druon, Œuvres de Synésius …

standen, aber dies allein ist für *Calv. enc.* noch nicht chronologisch aussagekräftig und sollte nicht ohne Weiteres angenommen werden. Darum folgt die Auseinandersetzung mit dem chronologisch doch relevanten Thema des Zusammenhanges der Schriften noch unter Punkt 5. Außerdem stützt sich Aujoulat, Denis Roques folgend, bei der chronologischen Bestimmung von *Calv. enc.* auch auf fehlerhaft verstandenen Inhalt von *Ep.* 1. Dem Begleitschreiben zu einer ungenannten Arbeit des Synesios ist zwar ein Datum nach 404 zuzuschreiben, weil der Autor es einem Freund in das 400 verlassene Konstantinopel sandte und in ihm allgemein eigene rhetorische und philosophische Bücher erwähnt (V. 1–3). Das aber müssen *Dion* und *De ins.* sein (beide von 404) und keineswegs das scherzhafte *Calv. enc.*,[19] denn das im Brief 1 vorgestellte Buch ist ausdrücklich philosophischer Natur (V. 5–9, s. auch 12f.). Nach Aujoulat habe *Calv. enc.* nicht gleichzeitig mit *Ep.* 1 entstehen müssen, vielmehr könnte es früher entstanden sein, wie er vermutet wahrscheinlich gegen 402. Die verschiedenen Versuche des Gelehrten, die die Datierungsfrage immer nützlich entwickelt haben, münden aber schließlich in ein folgewidriges Ergebnis, denn er schließt zwar u. a. auf das Jahr 404, scheint sich aber dann für den alten Lösungsversuch Lacombrades 396/97 zu entscheiden.[20]

Die Forschungsübersicht zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass es zur Zeit nur entweder entkräftete (390–397, 402, 411–413) oder zu ungenaue Datierungen (400–405) gibt. Einen Sonderfall stellt das bisher unbegründete Jahr 404 dar, das noch zu beweisen ist.

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précédées d'une étude biographique et littéraire. Paris 1878, 176 Anm. 3: ‚par conjecture' 401–402.

19 Im Gegensatz dazu mit *Calv. enc.* identifiziert von Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 6, 9, 10, xli; Roques, Synésios II (wie oben Fußnote 1) 83 Anm. 6, u. a. Eine Ambivalenz von Ernst und Vergnügen, von der *Ep.* 1, 1–5 spricht, kann sich nicht auf *Calv. enc.* beziehen: 1) ist sie nicht mit einer Schrift verbunden, sondern gemeinhin mit der schriftstellerischen Art des Synesios, und 2) passt die Ambivalenz eindeutig eher zum Hauptthema von Synesios' rhetorisch-philosophischem *Dion* als zum fast durchgehend heiteren Glatzenbuch (wie auch Seng, An den Haaren, wie oben Fußnote 3, 142 Anm. 87, beobachtet hat). Es fällt mir schwer, Verständnis für die Überzeugung aufzubringen, dass *Calv. enc.* teilweise seriös sei (vgl. Aujoulat, Synésios IV, wie oben Fußnote 1, 6, 7, 28; schon die *Scholia in Synesii Cyrenensis epistulas* 217, 6 irrten sich in diesem Punkt; ed. A. Garzya, Scolî inediti alle Epistole di Sinesio, in ders., Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini. Saggi e ricerche. London 1974 [[1]1960], 214–280). – Zum Brief 1 im Allgemeinen Roques, Études (wie oben Fußnote 5), 224f.; ders., Synésios II (wie oben Fußnote 1), 81–84; D.T. Runia, Studies in the Lettres of Synesius. Dis. University of Melbourne, 1976, 145, 165 Anm. 64–68.

20 Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) bes. 28; ähnlich beurteilte das Vorgehen Aujoulats Seng, An den Haaren (wie oben Fußnote 3), 136 Anm. 67.

Den methodisch interessantesten Beitrag zum Problem hat m. E. jedoch Helmut Seng 2013 geliefert. Der Forscher hat literaturwissenschaftliche Grundsätze in dem Sinne geltend gemacht, dass er die Trennungslinie zwischen dem Autor und dem Erzähler des *Calv. enc.* betont hat.[21] Er habe betreffs der Kahlköpfigkeit, über die sich das literarische Ich in Kap. 1f. beklagt, seine Leserschaft durch die schelmische Vermischung beider Ebenen jahrhundertelang betrügen können und dabei selbst überhaupt nicht kahl sein müssen. So hat Seng in meinen Augen alle bis dahin vorgelegten, auf biographischem Verständnis basierenden Datierungen angezweifelt. Sollten in dem Werk wegen seiner Fiktionalität alle chronologisch relevanten Anhaltspunkte fehlen, müsste unsere Frage unlösbar bleiben. Der hier in aller Kürze wiedergegebenen Perspektive Sengs ist aber entgegenzuhalten, dass aus dem Unterschied zwischen Autor und Erzähler nicht unbedingt so weitreichende Folgen abgeleitet werden müssen, denn auch rein fiktionale Texte verraten durch absichtslose Erwähnungen, Implikationen, Ähnlichkeiten usw. historisch Relevantes. Letztendlich gibt auch Seng selbst das mögliche Vorhandensein von biographisch brauchbaren Bemerkungen im Glatzenbuch zu.[22] Des Weiteren wären ‚fiktive Welten' ohne jedes Verhältnis zur materiellen Wirklichkeit kaum eine zu akzeptierende Vorstellung. In dieser Hinsicht sei vornehmlich auf Gérard Genettes Aufsatz *Récit fictionnel, récit factuel* hingewiesen, in dem das ‚Entweder-oder' zwischen Fakt und Fiktion wesentlich in Zweifel gezogen worden ist. Damit ist nicht gemeint, dass die verschiedenerlei literaturwissenschaftlich geprägte Einstellung zu Synesios von u. a. Aglaë Pizzone, Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer, Tassilo Schmitt, Martin Hose oder Helmut Seng irgendwie falsch wäre – nur ist es keineswegs nötig, auf reale Widerspiegelungen des historischen Synesios in dessen Texten verzichten zu müssen, wie es einige radikaler positionierte Forscher zu vertreten scheinen.[23]

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21 SENG, An den Haaren (wie oben Fußnote 3) 127, gebilligt von S. VOLLENWEIDER, Synesios von Kyrene, in C. Horn / C. Riedweg / D. Wyrwa (Hrsg.), Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie [...], Bd. 5/3. Basel 2018, 1898 – 1908, hier 1901 f.

22 SENG, An den Haaren (wie oben Fußnote 3) 138; in Zusammenhang mit den Briefen S. 125.

23 G. GENETTE, Récit fictionnel, récit factuel, in ders., Fiction et diction. Paris 2004, 141 – 168 – umgekehrt versuchte z. B. L. DOLEŽEL, Mimesis and possible worlds. *Poetics Today* 9/3 (1988) 475 – 496, *fiction* und *non-fiction* möglichst stark zu kontrastieren. Vgl. die eingehende Kritik von D. ROQUES an der literaturwissenschaftlich geprägten Einstellung am Beispiel von SCHMITTS in dieser Richtung etwas zu weit getriebenem Werk (Bekehrung, wie oben Fußnote 11): Les Lettres de Synésios de Cyrène. Problèmes et méthodes, in R. Delmaire / Jeanne Desmulliez / P.-L. Gatier (éds.), Correspondances. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international Correspondances entre chrétiens: amitié, foi, spiritualité. Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 20 – 22 novembre 2003. Lyon 2009, 515 – 552, hier bes. 536 – 549 (Roques' Kritik wirkt oft zu empört, vgl. z. B. 538, 547), und ROQUES' Besprechung von Schmitt in *Revue d'histoire*

Die Entstehungszeit

In der eigentlichen Datierungsthese versuche ich zuerst, den *terminus post quem* zu bestimmen (Punkte 1–2), und danach wird der *terminus ante quem* festgelegt (3–5).

1) **Brief 74.** Das Brieflein an einen Pylaimenes, der ein Bekannter des Synesios aus Konstantinopel war (*Ep.* 101 u. a.), spricht von einem Buch, das es begleitet, aber ohne einen Hinweis auf die Identifizierung der betreffenden Schrift zu geben. Unter diesem Punkt wird nun schrittweise gezeigt, dass die Identifikation des durch den Brief 74 vorgestellten Schriftstückes mit dem *Lob der Kahlheit* so gut wie unvermeidlich ist. Da von dieser Beweisführung der *terminus post quem* für *Calv. enc.* abhängt, muss ich möglichst genau sowohl alle erhaltenen als auch alle nicht erhaltenen *Opuscula* durchgehen. Das in *Ep.* 74 erwähnte Buch ist mit den folgenden nicht gleichzusetzen:

a) *De insomniis*, denn Synesios umgibt in *Ep*. 154, 104 dieses philosophische Büchlein mit einer Art mystischen Aura. Es sei in einer einzigen Nacht unter göttlicher Führung entstanden, während der angesprochene Text in *Ep.* 74, 1 f. als ‚durchgearbeitetes Werk' bezeichnet wird und kein παίγνιον ist wie das in *Ep.* 74, 5.

b) *Dion*, denn dieses Buch ist als Ganzes wiederum nicht scherzhaft, sondern beschäftigt sich zumeist mit dem ernsten Thema des Sich-Ergänzens von kultiviertem Schreiben und geistigem Aufstieg.

c) *Ad Paeonium*, *De regno* und *De provid.*, denn auch sie sind nicht heiter und sind erwiesenermaßen schon während des Konstantinopelaufenthaltes (397 bis Herbst 400)[24] entstanden, also musste Synesios Pylaimenes nicht erst später über sie benachrichtigen[25] wie über das Buch aus *Ep.* 74.

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ecclésiastique 99 (2004) 768–783 (auffällige Empörung z. B. 776, 781 f.). Vgl. die mit Faktizität sehr vorsichtig umgehenden Einstellungen von A. Pizzone, Sinesio e la 'sacra ancora' di Omero. Intertestualità e modelli tra retorica e filosoia. Milano 2006; H. Harich-Schwarzbauer, Zum Werkcharakter der Briefe des Synesios von Kyrene, in Seng / Hoffmann, Synesios (wie oben Fußnote 3), 96–109; von Schmitt außer Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 11) auch: Ein Wundertier und eine merkwürdige Sklavenaffäre bei Synesios. *Klio* 80 (1998) 209–230; Seng, An den Haaren (wie oben Fußnote 3); M. Hose, Synesios und seine Briefe. Versuch der Analyse eines literarischen Entwurfs. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für Altertumswissenschaft* 27 (2003) 125–141, bes. radikal 126, 128–130.

24 Die Chronologien 397–400 und 399–402 waren besonders in den 1990er Jahren umstritten und sind bis heute nicht allgemeiner Konsens. Aus der detaillierten Diskussion geht die Zeit 397–400 besser begründet hervor, s. als Hauptlinien der Argumentation vor allem J. Long, Dating an illfated journey: Synesius, *Ep.* 5. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122 (1992) 351–380; Al. Cameron, Earthquake 400. *Chiron* 17 (1987) 343–360. D. Roques verteidigte

d) Κυνηγετικαί. Was wir von dieser nicht erhaltenen Schrift wissen, hat die Vermutung erweckt, dass *Ep.* 74 eben von ihr spricht. Erstens ist das Jagdbuch in *Ep.* 154, 15 als attisch beschrieben (Ἑλληνισμός), wie das nicht genannte Buch in *Ep.* 74, 1 (λόγος ἀττικουργής). Zweitens bezeichnet der Autor seine Κυνηγετικαί als bloße Spielerei (παιδιά, 154, 14, und παίγνιον, 101, 12), genauso wie das inkriminierte Buch in *Ep.* 74, 5. Die Identifizierung von Κυνηγετικαί und dem unbekannten Buch ist jedoch unmöglich, denn das Jagdbuch war ausdrücklich poetischer Natur (τινα τῶν ἐκ ποιητικῆς ... ἔχοντα, *Ep.* 154, 16), während die versandte Schrift ein λόγος war und überdies in dem für zeitgenössische Dichtung nicht gewöhnlichen attischen Dialekt (ἀττικουργής, *Ep.* 74, 1). Also trifft die Beschreibung des ungenannten Büchleins eher auf das prosaische Glatzenbuch zu.[26]

e) Keines von den weiteren nicht erhaltenen Werken des Synesios kann mit dem in *Ep.* 74 gemeinten Buch identifiziert werden. Es handelt sich nämlich immer um Texte mit offensichtlich anderem Charakter. Die einen sind keine heiteren, sondern eher wissenschaftliche Bücher (eine mathematisch-astronomische Schrift aus *Ad Paeon.* 5, 4 / 139,18 – 140,5;[27] in einer Handschrift erhaltene Be-

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demgegenüber wiederholt und nicht völlig ohne Grund die Jahre 399 – 402; seine am besten durchgearbeitete Beweisführung findet sich in: Synésios à Constantinople 399 – 402. *Byzantion* 65 (1995) 405 – 439.

25 J. H.W. G. Liebeschuetz versuchte, die letzte Version von *De provid.* auf 414 zu datieren: The date of Synesius' *De Providentia*, in J. Harmatta (ed.), Proceedings of the VIIth Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies, II. Budapest 1984, 39 – 46, hier 40; dagegen haben Cameron / Long (wie oben Fußnote 5) z. B. 316, argumentiert. *Ad Paeon.* ist sicher auf die Konstantinopler Zeit datiert, dank der eigenen Angabe des Synesios in *Ep.* 154, 116 – 119.

26 Die angeführten Argumente zeigen, dass sich Aujoulat, Synésios IV (wie oben Fußnote 1) 7, 9, irrt (vgl. K. Treu, Synesios von Kyrene. Ein Kommentar zu seinem ‚Dion'. Berlin 1958, 7 Anm. 1), wenn er das Jagdbuch mit dem Buch in *Ep.* 74 gleichsetzt und *Calv. enc.* früher als die Κυνηγετικαί datiert. Aujoulat setzt *Calv. enc.* unter Berufung auf den aus dem Konstantinopler Aufenthalt bekannten Adressaten ins Jahr 402, also das Jahr, in dem der Gelehrte die Reise fälschlicherweise als beendet ansieht (s. wie oben Fußnote 22, vgl. auch unten Anm. 28). Vor Aujoulat hat D. Roques das nicht genannte Buch aus *Ep.* 74 vorsichtig mit dem Jagdbuch zu identifizieren versucht (Roques, Synésios III, wie oben Fußnote 1, 328 Anm. 3, oder ders., Synésios de Cyrène et la rhétorique, in E. Amato et al., éds., Approches de la Troisième sophistique. Hommages à Jacques Schamp. Bruxelles 2006, 244 – 272, hier 261), auch wenn derselbe Autor in seinen Études (wie oben Fußnote 5) 133 zugesteht, dass es sich in *Ep.* 74 um *Calv. enc.* handeln kann. Vgl. die etwas unausgewogene Einstellung zu dieser Frage auch in seinem Synésios II (wie oben Fußnote 1) 83 Anm. 6, wo er der Identifikation des Buches aus *Ep.* 74 mit *Calv. enc.* zustimmt, mit der Passage aus Synésios III (Anm. 1) 329 Anm. 5.

27 N. Aujoulat, in J. Lamoureux / ders., Synésios de Cyrène VI: Opuscules III. Paris 2008, 234 f. Anm. 30.

merkungen des Synesios zu Theons Kommentar zu Ptolemaios[28] und vielleicht sogar Abhandlungen über Homer und dessen Stil, vgl. *Ep.* 154, 4 – 6[29]). Die anderen nicht erhaltenen Werke stehen ebenso außer Frage, weil ihre Gattung dem Buch in *Ep.* 74 nicht entspricht (entweder waren sie Dichtung[30] jambischer[31] und elegischer Art,[32] Briefe[33] oder ein Traumtagebuch und ein epistolographisches Notizbuch[34]). Also ist keiner von diesen Texten mit dem scherzhaften Prosastück aus *Ep.* 74 identifizierbar.

Es bleibt also nur die Lösung übrig, *Calv. enc.* mit dem nicht näher spezifizierten, angeführten Buch attischen Stils gleichzusetzen. Es ist nicht nur durchaus attisch (vgl. *Ep.* 74, 1), wie übrigens sämtliche Werke des Synesios außer den *Hymnen*, sondern vor allem unterhaltsam, wovon V. 5 direkt zeugt (παίζειν τὰ παίγνια).

Nicht nur inhaltlich, sondern auch zeitlich entspricht das *Lob* der verhältnismäßig ruhigeren Lebensphase des Autors nach seiner angespannten Zeit (*De ins.* 14, 4 / 175, 16 – 176, 6; *Hy.* 1, 428 – 503) in Konstantinopel. *Ep.* 74 als Begleitbrief

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28 Diese Bemerkungen habe ich nie gesehen und verweise auf Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 11) 27 f.

29 Über die zwei letzten I. Baldi, Le due perdute opere grammaticali di Sinesio di Cirene. *Medioevo Greco* 10 (2010) 13 – 24.

30 Einschließlich des von T. Schmitt vorausgesetzten Familiengedichtes, von dem *Ep.* 1 angeblich spricht (Bekehrung, wie oben Fußnote 11, 749 – 752, bes. Anm. 102, auch S. 214 – 218). Wir halten Schmitts scharfsinnigen Vorschlag für eine interessante, wenn auch schwer durchzusetzende Hypothese. *Ep.* 1 stellt auf den ersten Blick einen ähnlichen Fall wie *Ep.* 74 dar. Denn auch in diesem Brief ist unklar, welche Schrift hier begleitet wird. In der Forschungsübersicht haben wir uns der Tatsache gewidmet, dass es *Calv. enc.* nicht sein kann. Welches Werk es tatsächlich ist, ist eine andere Sache, aber eine sehr interessanteste Meinung, mit der sich die Synesiosforschung noch auseinandersetzen muss, stammt von Harich-Schwarzbauer, Werkcharakter (wie oben Fußnote 23) 101 – 103, die das ungenannte Buch in *Ep.* 1 mit dem Briefcorpus des Synesios identifiziert.

31 Gedichte jambischer Art in *Ep.* 143, 52 – 60, vgl. *Ep.* 141, vielleicht auch 130, 55 oder 1, 1 – 3. I. Baldi hat ausgezeichnet argumentiert, dass die in *Ep.* 141 und 143 erwähnten Gedichte in *Hymnus* 9, 128 – 134 und in den zwölf Versen in *Ad Paeon.* 5 teilweise erhalten sind (L'*incipit* di un perduto inno di Sinesio [Cod. *Vat. Gr.* 1390, F. 202R]? *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 139 [2011] 148 – 161, bes. 150 f., 156 – 161).

32 Vgl. *Ep.* 75, 3 = *Anth. Pal.* 16, 79; *Ad Paeon.* 8, 9 / 142, 8 – 15; *Catast.* 2, 6, 3 / 293, 19 f.; ein Synesios zugeschriebener Hexameter *Anth. Pal.* 16, 76.

33 Vgl. u. a. Syn. *Ep.* 129; Isidor von Pelusium, *Ep.* I, 232; 241; 418. Der Frage, ob die Briefe Isidors (Nummern nach Mignes Ausgabe) wirklich an unseren Synesios gerichtet waren und dessen nicht erhaltene Briefe an Isidor voraussetzen, wird hier nicht nachgegangen.

34 Das ‚Buch der Traumerscheinungen': *De ins.* 18, 2 f. / 183, 11; 184, 5; die ‚Kladde' (oder Kopialbücher; Luchner, Einführung, wie oben Fußnote 3, 20; Runia, wie oben Fußnote 19, 316 f.): *Ep.* 5, 301.

zu *Calv. enc.* muss zugleich mit ihm abgesandt worden sein, also entstand er in demselben Jahr, wenn wir die Absendung kurz nach der Abfassung des Buches voraussetzen. Beide stammen aus der Zeit nach der Heimkehr aus der Hauptstadt im Jahre 401. Zugleich wurden sie vor dem Krieg verfasst, der 405 begann, denn unter Kriegsumständen hätte der Autor ein solches Buch wie *Calv. enc.* kaum schreiben können (s. unten Punkte 3–4).[35]

2) **Die Frau.** Synesios erwähnt an der bisher unbeachteten Stelle *Calv. enc.* 21, 2 / 228, 5 ‚Töchter und Frauen'. In der Passage schildert er, wie Pentapolitaner in Selbstverteidigungskommandos für den von Nomadeneinfällen bedrohten weiblichen Bevölkerungsteil der Provinz eintreten, während unsittliche Jünglinge sie belästigen und verführen. Es muss betont werden, dass es sich hier nicht um den flächendeckend zerstörenden Krieg handelt, der sich ab 405 abspielen sollte, sondern um vorherige gelegentliche Raubzüge der Berber, denen die Bevölkerung nach Schmitt noch mit eigenen Kräften die Stirn bieten konnte (s. Punkt 3).

Synesios als Sohn und Bruder von ‚Mutter und Schwestern' in 1, 3 / 191, 10 tritt in diesem Passus 21, 1–4 / 227, 17–228, 18 in rhetorischer Aufbausymmetrie in seiner gezielt wechselnden Rolle des Vaters und Ehemannes der ‚Töchter und Frauen' auf.[36] Es gibt klare Indizien, mit denen die Zeit der Eheschließung des

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35 Ähnlich kommt Synesios im oben unter d genannten Brief 101 an Pylaimenes auf seinen früheren Verkehr in der Gesellschaft von Konstantinopel zu sprechen, während er einen Krieg in Libyen mit keinem Wort erwähnt (Schmitt, Bekehrung, wie oben Fußnote 11, 764 Anm. 152, S. 75 Anm. 20). Grützmacher (wie oben Fußnote 18), 85, hat in *Ep.* 74 *Calv. enc.* erkannt (und irrigerweise auch in *Ep.* 1, s. oben S. 881–882), ohne die Vermutung jedoch begründet zu haben; vielleicht nach J. G. Krabinger, dessen Werk Synesii Cyrenaei Calvitii encomium, ed. I. G. Krabinger. Stuttgart 1834 in Mignes PG 66, 1625–1732 als Notae ad Synesii Encomium calvitii abgedruckt worden sind (Paris [1]1859, [2]1864); die unbegründete Verbindung von *Ep.* 74 und 1 mit *Calv. enc.:* col. 1623, 1 f.

36 Die ‚Mutter und Schwestern' können unserem Datierungsversuch im Unterschied zu den ‚Frauen und Töchtern' deutlich weniger helfen, denn die Mutter und Schwestern, denen der unansehnliche Haarausfall des Synesios einst zu schaffen machte, können im Text nicht mehr als eine bloße Redewendung sein, worauf auch die Formel φασί (1, 3 / 191, 10) hinweist, mit der die späten Redner oft Sprichwörter einleiten (R. Sollert, Sprichwörter bei Synesios von Kyrene. Programm des königlichen humanistischen Gymnasiums St. Stephan. Augsburg 1909, 3–35, hier 10 f., und: Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Synesios von Kyrene, ebd. 1910, 3–38, hier 29). Die ‚Mutter und Schwestern' stellen eher eine Verallgemeinerung für ‚meine weibliche Verwandten' dar, ähnlich wie ‚Väter und Großväter' in *Ep.* 73, 25 schlicht für ‚Ahnen' stehen. Druon, Œuvres (wie oben Fußnote 18) 176 Anm. 3, hat dagegen die Mutter und Schwestern für körperhafte gehalten, während keine Ehefrau nach ihm in der Schrift noch erwähnt werde.

ungefähr um 370[37] geborenen Synesios datiert werden kann. Eine Hochzeit im Jahre 402 oder 403 wäre wahrscheinlich, denn Synesios war in diesen Jahren in seinem etwa dreißigsten Lebensjahr, einem für damalige Männer heiratsfähigen Alter.[38] Vor allem aber freut er sich 404 in seinem *Dion* 4, 1 / 244, 6 – 11[39] auf sein zu dieser Zeit schon erwartetes erstgeborenes Kind (Sohn Hesychios, *Ep*. 55, 11), also war er beim Verfassen dieser Schrift bereits verheiratet. Im Jahre 405 konnte er Bücher wie den *Dion* nicht mehr schreiben oder gar lesen, wie er selbst sagt, weil der erste großangelegte feindliche Ansturm erfolgte (*Ep*. 133, 2;[40] 130, 59 – 61). Was umgekehrt den *terminus post quem* betrifft, trat er im Frühling 401 laut *Ep*. 5 nach einem Winteraufenthalt in Alexandrien und nach Abschluss seiner Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel (397 – 400)[41] den Weg nach Hause an. Zwischen diesen zwei Daten (Frühling 401 und dem Kriegsausbruch 405) muss er den Brief 74 geschrieben, die Ehe geschlossen[42] und dann eindeutig auch einen Grund gehabt haben, sich 404 im *Dion* auf das Kind zu freuen.

Auch aus der Themenwahl in *Calv. enc.* schließe ich auf den Ehestand des Autors. Er beschwert sich im vorletzten Abschnitt des Büchleins (Kap. 21 – 23) über Verführer und räsoniert auch über mit der Ehe verbundene Themen; genauso sind auch alle vier anderen Themenbereiche tatsächliche Interessen des Autors: der Redner Dion in Kap. 1 – 4 (vgl. bes. *Dion* 1 – 3), Philosophie und Verwandtes 5 – 12 (vgl. z. B. *De ins*. oder *Hymnen*), Militärisches 13 – 16 (vgl. *Ep*. 104, 122, später 107, 108, 113, 125 u. a.) und Homer 17 – 20 (nur in *De ins*., vgl. die Homerinterpretationen in 1, 2 – 4 / 144, 7 – 145, 17; 3, 1 / 148, 6 – 17; 8, 5 / 161, 1 – 7; 13, 5 / 173, 1 – 174, 4; 19, 4 / 186, 8 f.). Im *Lob der Kahlheit* behandelt der Autor Themen, die ihn etwas angehen, nicht solche, mit denen er nichts zu tun hat.

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37 Ein wichtiger Hinweis zu Gunsten dieses Geburtsjahres ist Synesios' Bischofsweihe 412, also gleich nach dem für Bischöfe festgelegten Alter von vierzig Jahren (vgl. *Constitutiones apostolorum* 2, 1, 5, Hrsg. F. X. Funk, Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum I. Paderborn 1905; ausschlaggebende Chronologie der Bischofswahl und -weihe Roques, Études, wie oben Fußnote 5, 56 – 59).

38 C. Sogno, Roman matchmaking, in S. McGill / C. Sogno / E. Watts (eds.), From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman history and culture, 284 – 450 CE. Cambridge 2010, 55 – 71, hier 56; A. Demandt, Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284 – 565 n. Chr. München 1989, 298.

39 Vgl. auch 15, 1 / 271, 19 f.; 15, 5 / 273, 8; 12, 2 / 265, 2 (in den Ausgaben von Lamoureux und Terzaghi, beide wie oben Fußnote 1); die Zeitbestimmung des *Dion* bei Roques (wie oben Fußnote 5) 40 – 42; Aujoulat (wie oben Fußnote 1) 96 – 101.

40 Die Datierung auf das Jahr 405 wird durch das damals eben zu Ende gegangene Konsuljahr des Aristainetos ermöglicht, d. h. 404 (z. B. *Codex Theodosianus* 16, 2, 37).

41 Für die Konkurrenzchronologien 397 – 400 und 399 – 402 s. oben Fußnote 24.

42 Vielleicht während seines zweijährigen Aufenthaltes in Ägypten irgendwann zwischen 401 und 405 (vgl. *Ep*. 123, 10).

Der Kyrenäer sagt *Calv. enc.* 21, 2 / 228, 5: „Wir laufen Gefahr und stehen im Felde … ," um ‚Töchter und Frauen' vor Gewalt während der Raubzüge zu schützen (*Ep.* 104; 122; im Krieg *Ep.* 132 u. a.). Er könnte sich rein hypothetisch auch als lediger Mann in das ‚Wir' miteinbeziehen. Es wäre jedoch natürlich peinlich, wenn er so kämpferisch über die Sicherheit von Ehefrauen und Kindern schwadronieren würde, ohne dass er Verantwortung für eine eigene Frau oder sogar eine eigene Tochter[43] tragen würde. Vor allem aber spräche er in eben dieser Passage, wäre er ledig, eher von existierenden Müttern, Schwestern, Nichten (vgl. *Hy.* 7, 29 f.),[44] Cousinen, Schwägerinnen (vgl. *Ep.* 145, 5), oder anderen (entfernt verwandten) Damen (vgl. *Ep.* 3), die er mit anderen Männern ritterlich in Schutz nahm. Scheint die Erwähnung von Frauen in Kap. 21 für unseren Datierungsversuch unergiebig zu sein, müssen wir an die zeitgenössische literarische Gepflogenheit erinnern, nur mit großer Zurückhaltung über Damen zu sprechen, wenn überhaupt.[45] Mit

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43 Synesios könnte neben seinen Söhnen auch eine oder mehrere Töchter gehabt haben. Im späteren Brief 55, 10 – 13 von 405 (Roques, Études, wie oben Fußnote 5, 42 f.; vgl. *Ep.* 18, 1 f.) jubelt er über seine neugeborenen männlichen Zwillinge, die auf den erstgeborenen Sohn folgten. Der Vater wünschte sich 55, 12, sie seien gesegnet, „sowohl ihrer selbst als auch ihrer Geschwister (ἀδελφοῖς) zu Gunsten"; die grammatische Form ἀδελφοῖς selbst bestimmt weder Geschlecht noch Zahl, jedenfalls kann sie auch ein Kind weiblichen Geschlechtes implizieren. Das müsste relativ kurz nach der Hochzeit 402/03 empfangen worden sein, denn die Geburt des erstgeborenen Sohnes ist schon fest auf 404/05 datiert (die mögliche Tochter hat die philologische Sehschärfe von Schmitt, Bekehrung, wie oben Fußnote 11, 752, entdeckt). Die Existenz einer oder mehrerer Töchter muss aber letzten Endes hypothetisch bleiben, denn nicht nur das Wort ἀδελφοί kann im weiteren Sinn ‚Verwandte' bedeuten, sondern auch der Ausdruck ‚Töchter und Frauen' setzt keinesfalls zwingend die Existenz eines Mädchens voraus.

44 Mit Fragen und Literatur zu den textologisch und inhaltlich problematischen Versen mit Synesios' zwei bzw. drei Schwestern und deren Kindern können wir uns hier nicht näher beschäftigen und weisen auf die neueste, originelle Bearbeitung des Problems durch I. Baldi hin: Sinesio e le sue sorelle: ancora su *Hymn.* 7.29 – 32, in D. Gigli Piccardi / E. Magnelli (ed.), Studi di poesia greca tardoantica. Atti della Giornata di Studi. Università degli Studi di Firenze, 4 ottobre 2012. Firenze 2013, 79 – 86, auf S. 83 zu drei Schwestern (vgl. Roques, Synésios II, wie oben Fußnote 1, 108 Anm. 2, der zwei Schwestern voraussetzt).

45 H. Rahn, Literatur und Leben. Literaturmorphologische Bemerkungen zu Synesios von Kyrene und seinem Dion, in H. Eisenberger (Hrsg.), Ἑρμηνεύματα. Festschrift für Hadwig Hörner zum sechzigsten Geburtstag. Heidelberg 1990, 231 – 255, hier 237. Mit der literarischen Regel stimmt die damals in aristokratischen Kreisen geschätzte vornehme Zurückgezogenheit der Frauen überein; bei Synesios s. *De provid.* 1, 13, 7 / 93, 2 – 9 (dazu Susan Elm, Isis' Loss: Gender, Dependence and Ethnicity in Synesius' *de providentia* or *Egyptian Tale*. *ZAC* 1 (1997) 96 – 115, hier 98). Mutter (nur in *Ep.* 155, 16), Schwestern (*Ep.* 7; 75, 3; 145, 4 – 7; *Hy.* 7, 29) und Ehefrau (*Ep.* 18, 1 f.; 132, 1 f., 21 – 23, 48 – 49; *Hy.* 7, 33 – 41) kommen in den Werken des Synesios nur sehr beiläufig vor, mit Ausnahme von *Ep.* 105, 69 – 78. Zur Tochter s. oben unsere Anm. 43.

anderen Worten, Synesios hat über Frauen kaum mehr sagen dürfen, also sollte man das gegebene Material nicht für besonders mager halten.

Unser Zwischenfazit für die chronologische Untergrenze des *Calv. enc.* ist wie folgt. Das Heiratsalter des Synesios, das 404 erwartete Kind und die Erwähnung der zu verteidigenden Ehefrauen weisen darauf hin, dass die Frau des Synesios in *Calv. enc.* kein literarisches Schattenwesen war, dem seine Existenz nur im Rahmen eines Topos verliehen wurde. Wenn wir die chronologische und inhaltliche Auswertung von *Ep.* 74 (401–405) mit der Schwangerschaft 404 und dadurch auch mit der Eheschließung des Synesios ungefähr 402/3 verknüpfen, engt sich der Zeitraum für das Entstehen des *Lobes der Kahlheit* weiter auf die Jahre 402 bis 404 ein:[46] der Autor war nicht nur zurück aus Konstantinopel (401), sondern hatte auch eine Frau, mit der er 404 den Freuden der Elternschaft entgegen sah. Dabei hat der Krieg von 405 eindeutig noch nicht angefangen, zu dem wir uns jetzt als *terminus ante quem* wenden.

3) **Noch kein Krieg.** Nach dem Winter 405 begannen erste katastrophale Einfälle von Barbaren in der Provinz, und kurz vorher fand eine zumindest von Synesios nicht gebilligte Militärreform statt (*Ep.* 133; 130).[47] Bis zu diesem Ereignis hatte es gelegentlich Auseinandersetzungen zwischen einheimischen Milizen (die vielleicht mit der regulären Armee kooperierten) und den Berbern gegeben, die *Ep.* 104 oder 113 anschaulich beschreiben.[48] Aber bald darauf folgte die systematische Offensive der Nomaden und wurde zu dem, was der Kyrenäer schon ‚Krieg' nennen wollte (vgl. *Ep.* 78, 39). Unter diesen Umständen konnte Synesios den Konflikt nicht mehr mit seiner vorherigen identitätsbildenden spartanischen, sogar fast

46 Aus der Zeit des *Calv. enc.* kann wahrscheinlich auch *Hymnus* 7 stammen: in diesem Familiengebet bittet Synesios unter anderem um die eheliche Treue seiner Frau (V. 33–41), während noch keine Rede von Kindern oder einer Schwangerschaft ist. Dazu passt auch die Tatsache, dass sich der Autor in V. 14 für einen noch jungen Mann hält. Er kann aber nicht allzu jung gewesen sein, denn seine Mutter ist im Unterschied zum Bruder und anderen Verwandten im Gebet nicht mehr erwähnt. Mit der Angabe vom eigenen ‚jungen Alter' des Autors in *Hy.* 7, 14 scheint *Calv. enc.* 18, 2 / 222, 20–223, 2, in dem sich Synesios ja als älteren Mann (oben, Forschungsübersicht) versteht, nicht übereinzustimmen. Die widersprüchlichen Äußerungen gehen meiner Meinung nach aber auf Synesios' rhetorische Ausdrucksweise zurück, nach der er z. B. einen knapp mehr als fünfzigjährigen Bischof als ‚jungen Mann' bezeichnet (*Ep.* 66, 121, νεανίσκος, was bis zum 41. Jahr galt), weil er ihn abwerten will. Als frischer Ehemann in *Hy.* 7 war Synesios ‚jung', während er im selben Zeitabschnitt als Kahlköpfiger eben zugleich schon ‚alt' war.

47 *Ep.* 133, 1–2 spricht vom ‚neulich' abgelaufenen Konsuljahr des Aristainetos, d. h. nach *CTh* 10, 22, 5 (u. a.) vom Jahr 404. Zur Datierung Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 607–621 (ich würde aber zögern, seine Ausführungen über Synesios' Einstellung zum Staat von vornherein zu akzeptieren), oder Roques, Études (wie oben Fußnote 5), 113, 17 f.

48 Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 590–607, 572 u. a.

sportlichen Kampfeslust schildern.[49] Mitten in den jetzt auf Leben und Tod geführten Kämpfen hätte unser Autor nur schwer Zeit und Gelegenheit erhalten, solch ein absurdes Stück wie *Calv. enc.* zusammenzustellen. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass er seit der Zeit des *Dion* und *De ins.* keine literarischen Werke mehr hervorgebracht hat und dass sich sein Schreiben seitdem ausnahmslos auf nichtliterarische, sondern überwiegend organisatorische oder sachliche Briefe und Reden beschränkt hat.[50]

Es finden sich im *Lob der Kahlheit* Andeutungen, die als deutliche Argumente *e silentio* für die Vorkriegszeit sprechen. Der Autor bedient sich im Abschnitt von Kap. 13 – 16 eben militärischer Themen und tut es leichten Herzens. Die jahrhundertealten Geschichten von weichen Totenköpfen einst langhaariger Männer in Ägypten und vom Nachteil von langem Haar in den Schlachten bei Thyrea, Thermopylen und Arbela aus Herodot und Plutarch[51] sind in jedem einzelnen Fall von jeder realen Bedrohung des Autors weit entfernt. Vergleichbar ist, wie der Autor in *De ins*. 16, 2 / 179, 10 – 13, ebenso von 404, in seiner oneiromantischen Auslegung u. a. feindliche Truppen sorglos erwähnt. Außerdem war Synesios 399 – 400 Augenzeuge des Gaïnasaufstandes und beschrieb dessen konstantinopolitanischen Teil zwar sehr literarisch und historisch ungenau in *De provid*. 2, 1 – 5, aber das allegorische Buch ist doch realistischer als die parodistischen Kriegsgeschichten in *Calv. enc*. 13 – 16. Diese sind weder Allegorien realer Ereignisse wie *De providentia*, noch deren direktere Beschreibungen wie in den hier zitierten Briefen, sondern nur Beispiele aus der anerkannten alten Literatur. Schließlich gibt es in *Calv. enc.* 23, 2 / 231, 7 eine Bemerkung über staatliche „militärische Einheiten in gesunden Zuständen“ (στρατιωτικῶν δὲ ταγμάτων ἐν ὑγιαίνουσι πράγμασιν). Sie kann sich kaum auf den Krieg oder die ihm vorhergehende Reform beziehen. Eher scheint die Erwähnung eine beiläufige und äußerst allgemeine Kritik zu implizieren, die zu einer Zeit, in der das Wohl des Staates den militärischen Bedürfnissen untergeordnet wurde, vollkommen verständlich war. Beschwerden über die Armee waren seit der römischen Republik

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49 Vgl. SCHMITT, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 12), bes. 581, 572 – 576 im Rahmen des ganzen Kapitels VII.2.

50 Wenn wir die schwer zu datierenden Hymnen außer Betracht lassen.

51 Perser gegen Ägypten 525 v. Chr. (Hdt. 3, 12): 13, 1 f. / 213, 21 – 214, 22; Sparta gegen Argos bei Thyrea 545 (Hdt. 1, 82): 14, 1 / 216, 16 – 18; Perser gegen Griechen bei Thermopylen 480 (Hdt. 7, 209): 15,1 / 217, 16 – 19; Makedonier und Griechen gegen Perser bei Arbela/Gaugamela 331 (Plutarch *Theseus* 5, vgl. Arrian 1, 2): 15, 3 – 16, 4 / 218, 4 – 219, 5.

übrigens gewöhnlich.[52] Eine Kritik am staatlichen Heer wäre 405 oder später viel schärfer, wie z. B. aus *Catast.* 2 von 411 klar hervorgeht.

Das Anschlagen eines derart heiteren Tons in *Calv. enc.* wäre in jeder militärischen Krisenlage unmöglich.[53]

4) **Noch sorglose Leidenschaften.** Das Kriegsjahr 405 als *terminus ante quem* kann mit Hinweis auf einige Passagen in *Calv. enc.* weiter bekräftigt werden. In 13, 4–6 / 214, 22–216, 9 spricht Synesios andeutungsweise von Hunger. Schwerlich dürfte man sich so über den Hunger äußern, wenn dieser mehr als eine bloße Befürchtung wäre. Dieses im *Lob der Kahlheit* noch prospektive Bedenken wird aber nach 404 mehrmals Realität. Die landwirtschaftlichen Strukturen der libyschen Provinz wurden während der Überfälle 405 durch feindliche Brandstiftung, weggetriebenes Nutzvieh, die Anwesenheit der römischen Militärkräfte und niedergetrampelte Felder (*Ep.* 130, 10–26; 35), 411 durch eine Heuschreckenplage (*Ep.* 41, 70–72), durch weitere Brände und zerstörendes Trampeln (*Catast.* 2, 6, 1 / 293, 3–4; 2, 2, 1 / 287, 3–7) stark beeinträchtigt. In *Ep.* 42, 6–8 aus dem Jahr 412 spricht Synesios mit großer Ernsthaftigkeit von einem bereits erlebten Hunger.[54] Dieser muss irgendwann nach 405 eingetreten sein, denn er wird in der letztgenannten Briefpassage in einem Atemzug mit einem Erdbeben,[55] einer Heuschreckenplage, einem Brand und dem Krieg genannt. Das alles und speziell der tatsächliche Hunger hat aber im Glatzenbuch keine Spur hinterlassen, woraus sich ergibt, dass dieses aus früherer Zeit stammen muss.

Auch Synesios' Erwähnungen seiner Leidenschaften in *Calv. enc.*, d. h. die Passagen über seine Liebe zur Jagd und zur Landwirtschaft, enthalten eine versteckte chronologische Andeutung. Laut 5, 3 / 198, 16–20 und 4, 5 / 197, 3–10 (vgl. auch 7, 3 / 203, 2–10 und 7, 6 / 204, 7–8) widmet er sich diesen Beschäftigungen ungestört. Demgegenüber wurde im Jahre 405 das südliche Jagdrevier unseres Autors (vgl. *Ep.* 92; 148, 6–8) nach *Ep.* 130, 31 vom Feind besetzt. Diese Tatsachen grenzen die Entstehung für das Lob der Kahlheit auf die Jahre 401 bis 404 ein,

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52 M. Whitby, Emperors and armies, AD 235–395, in S. Swain / M. Edwards (eds.), Approaching late antiquity. The transformation from early to late empire. Oxford 2004, 156–186, hier 173.
53 Vgl. die sehr unterschiedliche Schilderung der katastrophalen militärischen Zustände bei Zosimos 4, 16, 5; 4, 31; 5, 7, 2; 5, 15, 4; 5, 18, 5; 5, 22, 3; *CTh* 7, 1, 1; 7, 18, 14; Ammianus Marcellinus 28, 6, 5–9; 17–19.
54 Vorausgesetzt, das handschriftlich überlieferte λιμός (Hunger) ist nicht zu λοιμός (Pest) zu korrigieren (vgl. den kritischen Apparat zur Stelle bei Lamoureux, Synésios IV, wie oben Fußnote 1).
55 Allerdings wird das Erdbeben, von dem Kyrene im Jahre 365 betroffen war, mit dem genannten in Verbindung gebracht: D. Roques, Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-Empire. Paris 1988, bes. 45, 48.

denn diese Tätigkeit war sowohl früher in Konstantinopel (397–400, vgl. *De ins.* 14, 4 / 175, 17–18) als auch nach dem Einfall 405 und ausdrücklich (*Ep.* 105, 115) in der Bischofszeit von 411 an unmöglich.[56] Was das Episkopat betrifft, sei hier nur kurz darauf hingewiesen, dass Synesios sich bis 412 mit den kriegerischen Nomaden herumschlagen (z. B. *Ep.* 124), zahlreiche kirchliche Konflikte lösen (*Ep.* 66) oder sich hart mit dem Zivilgouverneur der Provinz auseinandersetzen musste (*Ep.* 41). Nicht einmal Briefe aus der Nachkriegsphase und Synesios' letztem Lebensjahr 413 weisen eine entspannte Stimmung auf (vgl. *Ep.* 126), die dem liebenswürdig verrückten Büchlein entspräche.

Auch wenn noch einige Hilfsbeobachtungen aus *Calv. enc.* 5–12[57] und 12, 2 / 212, 21[58] angeführt werden könnten, bestätigen diese Argumente das Jahr 405 als *terminus ante quem* in ausreichendem Maße.

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56 Die Kämpfe mit den Berbern zwischen 405–412 könnten während der Jahre 406–409 theoretisch nachgelassen haben, weil unsere mehr oder wenig sicher datierbaren Texte nur aus den Jahren 405 und 410–412 stammen (u. a. *Ep.* 132; 133; 107; 108; 73; 41; *Catast.* 1; 2). Also könnte der Zeitabschnitt 406–409 vielleicht eine ruhige Phase gewesen sein, in der Synesios sein *Calv. enc.* schrieb. Synesios beschwert sich zwar in *Catast.* 2, 1, 3 / 286, 13–16 von 411, wie kriegsmüde er nach sieben ununterbrochenen Jahren sei, aber die sehr schwere Krisenlage des Jahres 411 ist in der Rede noch rhetorisch beflügelt. Daraus kann gefolgert werden, dass *Calv. enc.* in der mutmaßlichen Zwischenzeit 406–409 lokalisiert werden könnte. Dies kann nur als Möglichkeit gelten, die wenig wahrscheinlich ist.

57 In diesem philosophisch-wissenschaftlich gefärbten Abschnitt des *Calv. enc.* will der Autor die platonischen Vorstellungen des Universums so zurechtrücken, dass er sie an das Thema der Glatze anpassen kann. Dies setzt aber voraus, dass das von Neuplatonikern religiös verstandene platonische Weltbild in seine eigene Parodie verwandelt werden kann. Einen derartigen Abstand zu seinen eigenen Grundüberzeugungen hätte er nur längere Zeit nach seiner Bekehrung zum Neuplatonismus (vgl. Tanaseanu-Döbler, wie oben Fußnote 9, 11–25, bes. 16) Mitte der neunziger-Jahre des 4. Jhdts. gewinnen können, vgl. z. B. die fromme Auffassung der Sterne in *Hy.* 1, 152–174 oder 6, 18–22 mit *Calv. enc.* 7 f. Vielleicht war Synesios in den neunziger Jahren noch nicht bereit gewesen, solch einen Abstand zu seiner philosophischen Konversion zum Neuplatonismus einzunehmen. Dies weist einmal mehr auf die Zeit zwischen Botschaftsreise und Krieg hin. (Auch Aujoulat, Synésios IV, wie oben Fußnote 1, 28, ist bereit, Synesios auf Grund dieser Passage als reifer anzusehen, will das aber nicht in seine Überlegungen über die Datierung des *Calv. enc.* einbeziehen.)

58 Synesios erläutert hier, ‚wir' Kahlköpfigen seien gesunder als die übrigen Menschen. Seine Gesundheitsprobleme sollten dabei erst in der spätesten Lebensphase einsetzen, s. *Ep.* 66, 3 aus 412, *Ep.* 16, 1 aus 412/13, vgl. die schwierig zu datierenden *Ep.* 115 und 120 (die Gebete um Gesundheit in *Hy.* 3, 34 f. und 7, 12–18 setzen nicht voraus, dass der Autor zu dieser Zeit krank war; eher betet er darum, weiter gesund zu bleiben). Die Bemerkung 12, 2 / 212, 21 über die Gesundheit würde also nur die letzten Lebensjahre des Bischofs ausschließen.

5) ***Dion* und der Sohn.** Ein Zusammenhang zwischen *Calv. enc.* und *Dion* scheint wiederum auf das Jahr 404 zu zeigen. *Dion*, der in diesem Jahre geschrieben wurde, behandelt nämlich nach der Lektüre Sengs sowohl ein ernstes Thema (Kap. 4–15) als auch ein *adoxon* (16–18), was beide Stücke (d. h. *Calv. enc.* und *Dion*) einander zeitlich näher rücken lässt.[59] Gemäß dem programmatischen ersten Teil des *Dion* (1–3) möchte Synesios in die Spuren des Redners Dion von Prusa treten, weil auch der Kyrenäer fähig wäre, nicht nur tiefere Themen zu verarbeiten, sondern auch Unsinniges oder Unmögliches geistreich zu verteidigen, wie es etwa die nicht erhaltenen Werke Dions, das *Lob des Papageis* oder das *Lob der Mücke*, gezeigt hätten (vgl. Syn. *Dion* 3, 9 / 244, 3: ἐσπουδάσθη γὰρ τῷ Δίωνι καὶ τὰ παίγνια).[60] Diese spezifische Fähigkeit seines rednerischen Vorbildes hätte Synesios nicht nur durch den schelmischen Teil (*Dion* 16–18) nachgeahmt, sondern auch durch das an *Dion* anknüpfende *Calvitii encomium*.[61] Diese Erklärung Sengs für den auffällig unklaren Aufbau des *Dion* erscheint mir sehr überzeugend. Wenn wir sie annehmen, bildet sie zumindest einen formal-inhaltlichen Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Werken. Diese Gleichheit der Gattung kann in einem strengen Sinne aber noch nicht als zeitliche Verbindung gelten, ebenso wie die motivische Ähnlichkeit zwischen *Calv. enc.* 11, 1 f. / 210, 17–23 und *Ep.* 148, 114 und 148[62] (auch zahlreiche Doubletten in Synesios' Texten erweisen ihre zeitliche

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59 H. Seng, Die Kontroverse um Dion von Prusa und Synesios von Kyrene. *Hermes* 134 (2006) 102–116, hier 109 f., 112; auch Vollenweider (wie oben Fußnote 21) 1902. Umgekehrt wollte Lacombrade, Synésios (Anm. 9), 79 (Nr. 5), das Argument zur Sprache bringen, dass Synesios sich in der Zeit, in welcher er *Dion* schrieb, gegen Anschuldigungen der Sophistik seitens selbsternannter Philosophen verteidigen musste (vgl. das Hauptthema von *Ep.* 154), und so das durchaus sophistische Stück *Calv. enc.* angeblich nicht zusammenstellen konnte. Schon die unter diesem Punkt wiedergegebenen Gedanken Sengs bilden einen Gegenpol zur Perspektive von Lacombrade, die übrigens einen Teil von seiner auf die neunziger Jahre ausgerichteten Argumentation bildet (s. oben Forschungsübersicht).

60 Das *Lob des Papageis* ist belegt bei Syn. *Dion* 1, 8 / 235, 19 und 2, 1 / 238, 13 und bei Philostratos *Vit. soph.* 487, 18 (Kayser); das *Lob der Mücke* bei Syn. *Dion* 3, 9 / 244, 2.

61 Die Abfolge von Werken des Synesios in Manuskripten, die die *Opuscula* (d. h. alles außer Hymnen und Briefen) enthalten, kann uns nicht über ihre relative Entstehungschronologie belehren. Auch wenn in 28 von insgesamt 54 Handschriften *Dion* nach oder vor *Calv. enc.* eingereiht ist, ist aus dieser Tatsache nichts Wichtiges zu deduzieren. (Die Handschriftentabelle Terzaghis, Synesii, wie oben Fußnote 1, xlvii–li, ist wiedergegeben und verbessert bei Lamoureux, Synésios IV, wie oben Fußnote 1, xliv f., auch xli–xliii, bes. Anm. 55; vgl. noch xv f.)

62 *Ep.* 148 muss nach der Rückkehr des Synesios von Konstantinopel 401 geschrieben worden sein, denn der Autor verherrlicht hier das ländliche Leben, nachdem er Städte und ihren befleckenden Verkehr (*Hy.* 1, 44–71; 428–497) wie den Kaiser mit seinem *consistorium* (*Ep.* 148, 136) endlich hinter sich gelassen hat: H. Seng, Auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel: Die gescheiterte zweite Reise des Synesios in die Hauptstadt, in P. Cavallero / R. P. Buzón / D. Frenkel / A. Nocito

Abhängigkeit sicherlich nicht,[63] wie auch in den Fällen von *Calv. enc.* 22, 2 / 230, 1 + *Ep.* 104, 11[64]). Trotzdem besteht Grund zur Annahme, dass die Abfassung des *Dion*

(ed.), Koronís. Homenaje a Carlos Ronchi March. Buenos Aires 2003, 305–314, hier 309 f. Das Lob des Dorflebens bezieht sich entweder auf die Zeit nach der Konstantinopelreise (nach dem Frühling 401), oder es betrifft die zweite Rückkehr nach einer weiteren Reise des Synesios, die 402 scheiterte und in Alexandrien und dann in der Kyrenaïka statt in der Hauptstadt endete (*Ep.* 129), also stammt *Ep.* 148 aus den Jahren 402–405. Die Obergrenze 405 ist wieder durch den Nomadenangriff gesichert, denn Synesios spricht in diesem trostreichen Stück noch von den südlichsten Gütern der Provinz (V. 6–8, auch *Ep.* 92), die jedoch die Berber später im Krieg besetzen sollten (*Ep.* 130, 25–35). Endlich können wir uns nun dem Zusammenhang des *Calv. enc.* 11, 1 f. / 210, 17–23 und *Ep.* 148, 114 und 148 zuwenden: in beiden Texten wird Odysseus als alter und kahlköpfiger Mann aufgeführt und Synesios identifiziert sich mit ihm mit direkter Vorlage in *Od.* 18, 343–357, wo Athena Odysseus in diese Form verwandelte. Der ausdrücklich ‚alte' Odysseus muss etwa vierzig gewesen sein, denn am Ende der Handlung der *Odyssee* hat er noch den alten Vater und den schon erwachsenen Sohn (vgl. *Od.* 9, 375–435), also konnte sich Synesios mit dem ebenso vielgereisten Helden (vgl. *Ep.* 148, 9) in der späteren ersten Hälfte seiner dreißiger Jahre grob identifizieren; übrigens bezeichnen sich etliche zeitgenössische Autoren selbst in der zweiten Hälfte ihrer dreißiger Jahre als ‚alt', vgl. Roques, Synésios III, wie oben Fußnote 1, 375 Anm. 8; dazu s. auch oben unsere Fußnote 46. Die Passagen aus *Calv. enc.* und *Ep.* 148 könnten somit vielleicht auch zeitlich zusammenhängen, müssen es jedoch nicht, bes. mit Rücksicht auf die chronologisch kaum aussagekräftigen Doubletten (s. unten Anm. 63).

63 Zwar stehen die identischen kleinen Wortketten oft zeitlich unmittelbar nebeneinander, z. B. *Ep.* 123, 1 + 124, 1 (beide aus dem Jahre 405); *Ep.* 11, 4 – 9 + 96, 1–7 (411); *Ep.* 79, 7 + 41, 260 (412); *Ep.* 42, 83 f. + 43, 175 f. (412); *Ep.* 41, 194 –215 + 79, 100–125 (412); *Ep.* 66, 361–363 + 69, 11–14 (412) und weitere, aber genauso tun dies viele Doubletten nicht, z. B. *Ep.* 137, 50 (J. 397) + *Dion* 9, 8 / 257, 15 (404) + *Ep.* 41, 294 (412); *De reg.* 14, 2 / 29, 14 und 28, 1 / 60, 4 (399) + *Ep.* 42, 43 (412) + 74, 4 (402–404) + 51, 11 (411?); *Ep.* 5, 120 (401) + 66, 48 (411) + 41, 157 (412); *De provid.* 1, 1, 4 / 65, 16 (400) + *Ep.* 147, 3 (412); *De reg.* 15, 8 / 34, 16 (399) + *Ep.* 118, 10 (406); *Ep.* 142, 19 (397) + 116, 8 (405 oder 410) *etc.* (Datierungen meistens nach Roques, Synésios II–III, wie oben Fußnote 1, bei jeweils betreffenden Briefen; zu Briefdoubletten Runia, wie oben Fußnote 19, 312 f., 316 f.).

64 Der Brief 104 ist vor 405 entstanden, denn der Oberbefehlshaber Kerealios hat nach *Ep.* 132, 23–28 einer Einheit von ‚Balagriten' die Pferde abgenommen, die sie laut *Ep.* 104, 14 und 72–86 noch hatten. Stammt der Brief 104 also wirklich aus der Vorkriegszeit und verbindet das gleiche Zitat in deren V. 11 und in *Calv. enc.* 22, 2 / 230, 1 die beiden Texte in chronologischer Hinsicht, ergäbe sich zwar, dass das *Lob der Kahlheit* 404 oder höchstens ein paar Jahre früher entstanden ist (bis Frühling 401). Dies würde durch die Tatsache unterstützt werden, dass sowohl in *Ep.* 104 als auch in *Calv. enc.* 21–23 das lange Haar mit Feigheit in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Das kann freilich leider nicht völlig beweiskräftig für die Datierung sein (s. Anm. 62), denn die häufigen wörtlichen Doubletten müssen chronologisch nicht übereinstimmen, auch wenn sie dies könnten. Schmitt, Bekehrung (wie oben Fußnote 12) 75 Anm. 20 setzt dagegen eine chronologische Nähe auf Grund beider Stellen voraus, wie übrigens schon Druon, Œuvres (wie oben Fußnote 18), 176 Anm. 3 (sein Ep. 22 = Ep. 104); vgl. Lacombrade, Synésios, wie oben Fußnote 9, 76 f.; Aujoulat, Synésios IV, wie oben Fußnote 1, 8. Siehe auch oben unsere Fußnote 12. Es gibt im *Calv. enc.* ähnliche Motive, die auf diese Weise das Buch fälschlich mit der Konstantinopler Zeit

Synesios in derselben Zeit auch zum Verfassen des Glatzenbuches veranlasst hat und dass der Zusammenhang beider Bücher auch ein chronologischer ist.[65]

Das Argument für die vielleicht auch zeitliche Nähe der Schriften kann weiter ergänzt werden. Laut *Dion* 15, 1 / 271, 19 f. hat ‚Gott' unserem erfahrenen Traumdeuter (vgl. *De ins.* 14) den erstgeborenen Sohn „für das folgende Jahr versprochen". Diese Angabe besagt, dass das Ehepaar die Schwangerschaft grob gesprochen zu einem Zeitpunkt zwischen Juni und Ende Dezember 404 feststellte,[66] sodass der Geburtstermin für das Kind zwischen Januar und August ‚des folgenden Jahres' 405 liegen kann. Dem entspricht, dass auch *Ep.* 132 aus der ersten Phase des Kriegs 405 stammt,[67] in deren V. 49 Synesios nur vom ersten Sohn von den künftig insgesamt dreien spricht.[68] Im *Lob der Kahlheit* findet sich dabei sowohl vom Krieg als auch vom Sohn überhaupt nichts. Falls das Buch also auch chronologisch mit *Dion* zu verbinden ist, mag das heißen, dass *Calv. enc.* der letzteren Schrift mit dem erwarteten Sohn (*Dion* 4, 1 / 244, 6 – 11) im Rahmen des Jahres 404 ein wenig vorangeht. Der Nachkomme ist im *Calv. enc.* noch nicht im Gesichtsfeld, während Synesios ihm in *Dion* (a.a.O.) aus der spätestens zweiten Hälfte des Jahres schon freudig entgegensieht.

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verbinden würden. Denn Glatzköpfigkeit wird nicht nur im *Calv. enc.* aus einem moralischen Blickwinkel betrachtet (5, 5 – 6, 6 / 199, 7 – 202, 9; 7, 5 / 203, 17 – 204, 2; 8, 1 – 9, 4 / 204, 20 – 207, 18; 11, 1 – 5 / 210, 9 – 212, 4; 17, 2 – 4 / 220, 18 – 222, 2 u. a.), sondern auch in *De reg.* 16, 9 / 38, 3 – 6 und *Ad Paeon.* 3, 4 / 137, 1 – 4 (vgl. auch den vielleicht noch vor 397 verfassten *Hy.* 9, 24 f.); s. bes. *De reg.* 20, 2 f. / 46, 13 – 47, 8 und *Calv. enc.* 13, 3 / 214, 19 – 22. Die Versdoublette *Calv. enc.* 22, 2 / 230, 1 + *Ep.* 104, 11, die nur ungefähr auf die Vorkriegszeit 401 – 404 hinweist, würde also bestenfalls eine unzuverlässige chronologische Brücke schlagen.

65 So hat Terzaghi, Sinesio (wie oben Fußnote 8) 23 f., bes. 24 Anm. 2, schon vor Seng, Kontroverse (wie oben Fußnote 59) die gleichzeitige Abfassung beider Bücher grob angedeutet. Das dritte Kapitel des Glatzenbuches sei vom Redner Dion übernommen worden. Synesios habe sich damals so viel mit den Schriften des Dion von Prusa und mit seinem eigenen Werk *Dion* beschäftigt, dass der Kyrenäer das stark dionisch geprägte Kapitel *Calv. enc.* 3 in zeitlicher Nähe zu den angeführten dionischen Schriften (d. h. zu seinem eigenen Buch *Dion* und zu der Beschäftigung mit den Reden Dions von Prusa) geschrieben habe. Dieser chronologische Zusammenhang Terzaghis (a. a. O.) setzt das *Calv. enc.* im frühen Jahr 405, im späten Jahr 404 oder noch ein wenig eher an, was mit meinem Endresultat übereinstimmt.

66 Vorausgesetzt, dass wir mit der Empfängnis in Mai 404 rechnen, denn eine Schwangerschaft konnte unter damaligen Bedingungen frühestens achtundzwanzig Tage nach der Empfängnis festgestellt werden.

67 Roques, Études (wie oben Fußnote 5) 162; vgl. Lacombrade, Synésios (wie oben Fußnote 9) 79 (Nr. 4), der hier jedoch eine ganz andere Chronologie, nämlich das Jahr 395, aus dem Kampf schloss.

68 Zu den Nachkommen H. Seng, Die Söhne des Synesios. *Studia patristica* 34 (2001) 227 – 234, hier 228 – 231.

Ob *Calv. enc.* dem *Dion* vorangeht oder umgekehrt, jedenfalls würde die Argumentation nahelegen, *Calv. enc.* zwischen den Winter 405 und einen Zeitabschnitt vor der Feststellung der Schwangerschaft gegen Mitte 404 oder in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres anzusetzen. Die Obergrenze legen der geborene Sohn und der ausgebrochene Krieg fest (*Ep.* 132) und den *terminus post quem* der die Lust auf *adoxa* (wie *Calv. enc.*) weckende *Dion*.

Es stellt sich aber noch eine Frage. Es fällt auf, dass vom Glatzenbuch in dem langen Begleitbrief 154 zu *Dion* und *De ins.* an Hypatia von 404 nicht die Rede ist. Synesios gibt in V. 1 an, er habe „heuer zwei Bücher zu Ende gebracht".[69] Das sind in erster Linie *Dion* (V. 19 – 99), daneben *De ins.* (100 – 114) und als Ergänzung auf die ideale Nummer Drei schickte er auch das ältere *Ad Paeon.* aus der Konstantinopler Zeit (115 – 119). Außerdem aber distanziert er sich von seinen Κυνηγετικαί und sendet die Buchrolle nicht nach Alexandrien (11 – 16), denn das Werk des Jugendalters sei im Grunde nur eine kleine Spielerei (παιδιά). Einerseits rechtfertigt sich der Autor vor der vornehmen Meisterin wegen der Κυνηγετικαί (auch wenn dies vielleicht nur zum Schein gewesen ist, wie früher vor seinem Freund Pylaimenes in *Ep.* 101), andererseits übergeht er das für ihn als Philosophen ebenso unrepräsentative Glatzenbuch. Dazu stehen zumindest zwei Antworten zur Auswahl: Entweder existierte das Buch zur Absendezeit von *Ep.* 154 noch nicht, bzw. war noch nicht abgeschlossen, oder Synesios wagte es nicht, die hochverehrte Hypatia auf das schon abgefasste absurde *Calv. enc.* aufmerksam zu machen, im Unterschied zum schon allzu bekannten Jagdbuch.

Ich vermute abschließend, dass das *Calv. enc.* auch chronologisch eng mit dem *Dion* zusammenhängt, unabhängig davon, ob es 404 knapp vorher oder danach entstanden ist. Synesios hat es entweder zeitlich nicht geschafft, das Büchlein an Hypatia zu senden, falls es noch im Entstehen war, oder wollte überhaupt nicht, dass sie darauf aufmerksam gemacht würde, falls das *Calv. enc.* schon existierte.

Schluss

Ohne auf literaturwissenschaftliche Ansichten verzichtet zu haben, wurde hier das Werk des Synesios auf mögliche Anhaltspunkte für die Datierung des *Lobes der Kahlheit* hin gesichtet. Das Büchlein lässt sich mit ziemlich sicheren Gründen auf die Zeit zwischen dem Kriegsausbruch in der Pentapolis im Frühjahr 405 (Punkte 3 – 4) und dem schon 402 oder 403 bestehenden Ehestand des Synesios datieren,

69 τῆτες ἐξήνεγκα δύο βιβλία (zu dieser Bedeutung des Wortes ἐξήνεγκα Roques, Synésios III, wie oben Fußnote 1, 423 Anm. 4).

den wir in *Calv. enc.* als gegeben vermuten (Punkt 2). Zum Nachweis des *terminus post quem* tragen äußere wie innere Zusammenhänge bei, d. h. die konsequente Interpretation von *Ep.* 74 (Punkt 1) und die vielleicht unmittelbare zeitliche Nähe dieser Schrift zum *Dion* von eben 404 (Punkt 5). Das Ergebnis der Untersuchung führt also zur Zeit zwischen 403 und dem Anfang des Jahres 405, vor allem zu 404.

Schließlich sei angemerkt, dass Schriften oft in einem ziemlich lange dauernden Prozess zustande kommen. Synesios hat vielleicht jahrelang Material für sein Büchlein gesammelt. Das nicht gerade elegante Aneinanderreihen der einzelnen Themen und Beispiele in *Calveben enc.* scheint mir dies zu unterstützen. Das Jahr 404 (bzw. 403–405) wäre dann nur die späteste Grenze für die Veröffentlichung des vielleicht seit Langem gesammelten Stoffes. Unter dieser Annahme hätten auch diejenigen Forscher am Ende teilweise recht, die das Essay in die Jugendzeit des Synesios setzen.

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Scott Kennedy

Michael Panaretos in context

A historiographical study of the chronicle *On the emperors of Trebizond*

Abstract: It has often been said it would be impossible to write the history of the empire of Trebizond (1204 – 1461) without the terse and often frustratingly laconic chronicle of the Grand Komnenoi by the protonotarios of Alexios III (1349 – 1390), Michael Panaretos. While recent scholarship has infinitely enhanced our knowledge of the world in which Panaretos lived, it has been approximately seventy years since a scholar dedicated a historiographical study to the text. This study examines the world that Panaretos wanted posterity to see, examining how his post as imperial secretary and his use of sources shaped his representation of reality, whether that reality was Trebizond's experience of foreigners, the reign of Alexios III, or a narrative that showed the superiority of Trebizond on the international stage. Finally by scrutinizing Panaretos in this way, this paper also illuminates how modern historians of Trebizond have been led astray by the chronicler, unaware of how Panaretos selected material for inclusion for the narratives of his chronicle.

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Established just before the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the empire of Trebizond (1204 – 1461) emerged as a successor state to the Byzantine empire, ulti-

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mately outlasting its other Byzantine rivals until it fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1461. Our main source for the history of the empire is a short (roughly 6,000 word) chronicle entitled *On the emperors of Trebizond, the Grand Komnenoi, how, when, and how long each of them reigned* (Περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέων, τῶν μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν, ὅπως καὶ πότε καὶ πόσον ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν).[1] Running from 1204 to ca. 1429, the text was written by the *protonotarios* of the Trapezuntine emperor Alexios III (1349 – 1390), Michael Panaretos (ca. 1320–ca. 1390) and continued after 1390 by an anonymous continuator(s). Consisting of a series of short entries which recount when an event happened, sometimes down to the exact hour, but often omit much information about the circumstances or causes behind an event, the chronicle is frustratingly spare. In this regard, it has often been compared to the short chronicles published by Peter Schreiner and the chronicle of George Sphrantzes.[2]

Despite the chronicle's drawbacks from a modern perspective, it has often been said that it would be nearly impossible to write the history of the empire, were it not for the rediscovery of the chronicle by Jakob Fallmerayer in the 1820's.[3] As a fundamental source for the empire's history, it is surprising that the chronicle has elicited very little attention from a historiographical perspective. The last major studies of the chronicle date from the 1950's when Odysseas Lampsides was preparing his 1958 edition of the text.[4] In the meantime, the re-

1 When this article was written, the standard edition was O. Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περὶ των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών. *Archeion Pontou* 22 (1958) 61 – 81. This has recently been superseded by R. Shukurov / S. Karpov / A. M. Kryukov, Михаил Панарет. О великих Комнинах (Трапезундская хроника). Saint Petersburg 2019. For the sake of convenience, I cite the new edition first followed by (L)ampsides in parentheses.

2 P. Schreiner, Studien zu den Βραχέα Χρονικά. *MBM*, 6. Munich 1967; Die byzantinischen Kleoinchroniken, ed. P. Schreiner. *CFBH*, 12. Vienna 1975 – 79; Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca, ed. R. Maisano. *CFHB*, 29. Roma 1990, 23 – 51.

3 O. Lampsides, Τινὰ περὶ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου. *Archeion Pontou* 37 (1954) 39–60; Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 9; S. P. Karpov, История Трапезундской империи. Saint Petersburg 2007, 14; R. Shukurov, Великие Комнины и Восток (1204 – 1461). Saint Petersburg 2001, 23; A. Sabbides, Ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών της Τραπεζούντας (1204 – 1461). Thessalonike 2016, 198; A. Asp-Talwar, The chronicle of Michael Panaretos, in A. Eastmond / G. Peers / B. Roggema (eds.), Byzantium's other empire. Trebizond. Istanbul 2016, 173.

4 I. Pampoukes, Ποντιακά. Athens 1947; O. Lampsides, ό γάμος Δαβίδ τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ κατά τό Χρονικόν τοῦ Παναρέτου. *Athena* 57 (1953) 365 – 368; Lampsides, Τινὰ (as footnote 3 above); O. Lampsides, La tradition manuscrite de la chronique de Panarétos et l'édition de S. Lampros, in Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier, à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de leur arrivée en Grèce. Athens 1956, 1 – 5; O. Lampsides, Διορθωτικά εἰς τό Χρονικόν Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου. *Archeion Pontou* 21 (1956) 3 – 25; O. Lampsides, Κροτώ-κρατώ-κρατίζω εν

searches of Anthony Bryer, Sergei Karpov, Rustam Shukurov, Anthony Eastmond, Alexios Sabbides and many other scholars have vastly increased our knowledge of the empire's history in almost every respect.[5] But while these researches have vastly helped us reconstruct the world in which Panaretos lived, less attention has been paid to what world Panaretos left for us to see and why he constructed this world. While it might seem odd to devote a historiographical study to a chronicle such as Panaretos's, which is seemingly devoid of rhetoric and literary merit in the tradition of other Byzantine short chronicles, such a pursuit is not without merit. As Hayden White has illustrated in an examination of the list-like *Annals of Saint Gall* from the early Middle Ages, even historical forms which seem to eschew storytelling techniques such as the annals and the chronicle tell a story in their selections of facts no matter how meagerly they present those facts.[6] This article, then, examines the image of reality that Panaretos constructed for posterity and illustrates some of the ways in which Panaretos's representation of his times has misled modern scholars. By scrutinizing Panaretos's chronicle in this fashion, I hope that this study will also cast light on the mind and concerns of a fourteenth century Trapezuntine official, such as Michael Panaretos. We have many voices from mainland Byzantium for this era, but few native voices from far flung outposts of the Roman world such as Trebizond, whose beliefs and ideas are often overshadowed by their Constantinopolitan counterparts.

Michael Panaretos the chronicler

Our knowledge of Michael Panaretos as an individual comes solely from his chronicle. As the reader of his chronicle will notice, Panaretos's name does

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τῷ Χρονικῷ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου. *Archeion Pontou* 21 (1956) 226 – 230; O. Lampsides, Σύμμεικτα εἰς τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Παναρέτου. *Archeion Pontou* 23 (1959) 39 – 54. Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above), is a promising start to further work.

5 This is only a survey of some important works: A. Bryer / D. Winfield, The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos. 2 vols. Washington, D.C. 1985; A. Bryer, The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos. London 1980; A. Bryer, Peoples and settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800 – 1900. London 1988; S. Karpov, L'impero di Trebisonda Venezia Genova e Roma 1204 – 1461: rapporti politici, diplomatici e commerciali. Rome 1986; Karpov, История (as footnote 3 above); Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above); A. Eastmond, Art and identity in thirteenth-century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the empire of Trebizond. London 2016; Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above).

6 H. White, The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980) 5 – 27.

not actually appear in the chronicle's title in the apograph manuscript Marcianus gr. 608/coll. 306, dating from the 1440's.[7] From its beginning in 1204 until 1340, the chronicle is entirely written in the third person until first person plural entries begin to creep in. Our attribution of the text to Michael Panaretos is based off an entry, in which the chronicler describes the dispatch of an embassy to Constantinople led by George Scholaris and Michael Panaretos, "who is writing this" (ὁ ταῦτα γράφων).[8] From this, scholars have extrapolated that all the first person plural entries which range from 1340 and 1386 originate from Panaretos and thus have concluded that he is responsible for the chronicle from 1204 up to or around 1390 (the death of his master Alexios III).[9]

Based on these assumptions, Panaretos's life went something like this. He was probably born sometime around 1320 in Trebizond or thereabouts. Panaretos's origins were probably humble, as the Panaretos family name was not common in the Pontos before him, though it was popular enough in mainland Byzantium.[10] Whatever his origins, Panaretos probably began his career as a *notarios*, a secretary in the imperial service, in which capacity he served the regime of the young emperor Alexios III. In 1351, he would accompany the dowager empress Eirene of Trebizond on an expedition against the rebel Constantine Doranites.[11] He was frequently by the side of the young Alexios III as the emperor traveled throughout his realm and waged war on his enemies, and by 1363 Panaretos had obtained the titles *protosebastos* and *protonotarios*. While the first was purely honorific, Panaretos was now in charge of the imperial secretariate and responsible for drafting, polishing, and preserving imperial correspondence and documents.[12] In such a capacity, his knowledge of previous events or

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7 On the manuscript, see now P. Schreiner, Bemerkungen zur Handschrift der trapezuntinischen Chronik des Michael Panaretos in der Bibliotheca Marciana (Marc. gr. 608 / coll. 306), in R. Shukurov (ed.), Mare et litora: essays presented to Sergei Karpov for his 60th birthday. Moscow 2009, 613 – 626.

8 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 L).

9 Generally most recent scholars have argued that Panaretos died in or around 1390: Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 11; Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 200; Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 23; Lampsides, Τινὰ (as footnote 3 above) 41; Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 10 – 14. But older scholarship held that Panaretos stopped writing in 1382: S. Lampros, Τὸ Τραπεζουντιακὸν Χρονικὸν τοῦ Πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ Πρωτονοταρίου Μιχαήλ Παναρέτου. *NE* 4 (1907) 226 – 294: 265. Pampoukes contended that Panaretos had continued up until 1426: Pampoukes, Ποντιακά (as footnote 4 above) 30.

10 Lampros, Τὸ Τραπεζουντιακὸν (as footnote 9 above) 274 – 275; Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 11.

11 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 90 (70 L).

12 On the office of protonotarios, see *ODB* 1746.

treaties could be quite valuable, and Alexios III sent him on a number of diplomatic missions to Constantinople in the 1360's, including one during which he helped secure a marriage alliance with the Byzantine emperor John V (1341–1391) and reestablish positive relations with Venice.[13]

Aside from his political duties, Panaretos was the father of two sons, whose premature deaths in 1368 he includes in his chronicle of political events in a rare moment of self-interjection. A religious man, Panaretos saw their deaths as punishment for his sins or as he puts it, "wretched sinner that I am."[14] In general, religion played an important role in shaping his world view.[15] When Panaretos describes multiple battles between Trapezuntines and their enemies, the chronicler does not usually focus much on battle tactics or the morale of the army, but often notes that a battle turned out positively or negatively "with God's consent (Θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος)." Take for example his account of a Turkish attack on Trebizond in 1336, "the sheikh Hasan, the son of Timurtaş, came to Trebizond and there was a battle at the ravine of Saint Kerykos and at Minthrion. With God's consent, he was turned back by a torrent of rain and fled."[16]

Panaretos as imperial secretary

As chief secretary and an occasional ambassador of Alexios III, Panaretos needed a precise knowledge of the past when communicating in an official capacity. His chronicle is no doubt a précis of the kind of information he found useful in his day-to-day business. For example, the chronicle's report of the marriage of John II Komnenos with Eudokia Palaiologina, the daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos in fall 1282 includes an aside, "Note that the emperor lord Michael was still alive when the marriage of John the Grand Komnenos and Palaio-

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13 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 – 75 L), 102 (76 L). For Venice receiving word of this embassy, see F. Thiriet, Régestes des déliberations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie. Paris 1958, I 413.

14 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 102 (76 L). All translations of Panaretos come from: S. Kennedy, Two works on Trebizond: Michael Panaretos. Bessarion. *Dumbarton Oaks medieval library*, 52. Cambridge, MA 2019, here p. 43. All other translations are my own.

15 For a fuller exposition, see Lampsides, Τινὰ (as footnote 3 above) 59 – 60; Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 32 – 33.

16 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 80 (65 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 11. For further examples of Panaretos' typical battle, see Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 84, 86, 92 (66, 68, 71 L, respectively).

logina took place."[17] As marriages were relatively common between the Grand Komnenoi and the ruling family in Constantinople, Panaretos no doubt valued having a precise knowledge of these marriage alliances and the conditions surrounding them, as the Byzantines prided themselves on their knowledge of history and frequently manipulated it for diplomatic advantage during negotiations.[18] For example, one area where a precise knowledge of Trebizond's past would have aided Panaretos was when he had to defend his master's position in Byzantine ideology among his fellow Byzantines and Westerners. Palaiologan propaganda, first propagated by Michael VIII, had alleged that the founder of the empire of Trebizond, Alexios I the Grand Komnenos (1204 – 1222), was originally a governor appointed by the emperor in Constantinople who had then rebelled and illegitimately laid claim to the title and insignia of the Roman *basileus*.[19] The empire of Trebizond was thus born out of an act of treachery and rebellion against its rightful emperor. But the truth was somewhat more complicated. The grandson of Andronikos I, Alexios and his brother David had left Constantinople and sought Georgian aid to retake the imperial throne from the Angeloi, seizing Trebizond in April 1204 around the same time as the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. The crusade's seizure of the city derailed their original plans, as Byzantines scrambled to establish imperial legitimacy.[20] Nevertheless, the Palaiologans' delegitimizing narrative of Trebizond's origins was widely disseminated among the empire's Western neighbors.[21] Given the story's popularity, Trapezuntine ambassadors must have encountered preconceptions during negotiations with foreign powers that their master's sovereignty was founded on treason and arrogance. Precisely knowing the early history of his empire's foundations could thus be valuable. Panaretos's description of the empire's foundation is uncomplicated:

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17 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 76 (62 L).
18 J. Shepard, The uses of 'history' in Byzantine diplomacy: observations and comparison, in C. Dendrinos (ed.), Porphyrogenita: essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides. Aldershot 2003, 91 – 115.
19 R.J. Loenertz, Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès de pape Nicholas III. 1278 (printemps-été). *OCP* 31 (1965) 374 – 408: 391.
20 The clearest account of the empire's foundation remains A. A. Vasiliev, The foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204 – 1222). *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3 – 37. For further detail, see Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 53 – 8; Karpov, История (as footnote 3 above) 88 – 111.
21 The tale is taken up in the Western traveler Odorico: A. van Wyngaert, Relatio fratri Odorico. Sinica Franciscana. Florence 1929, 413 – 495. It also appears in the Armenian Hethum's account: Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens. Paris 1906, 133.

Ἦλθεν ὁ μέγας Κομνηνός, ὁ κῦρ Ἀλέξιος, ἐξελθὼν μὲν ἐκ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐκστρατεύσας δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, σπουδῇ καὶ μόχθῳ τῆς πρὸς πατρὸς θείας αὐτοῦ Θάμαρ, καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ζʹ, ἔτους ͵ϛψιβʹ, ἐτῶν ὢν κβʹ.

Lord Alexios I the Grand Komnenos left the blessed city of Constantinople and set out on campaign from Georgia with an army provided by the zeal and efforts of his paternal aunt Tamar. He came to Trebizond and captured it in April, indiction 7, 6712 (1204), at the age of 22.[22]

However, his laconic account contained the information needed to refute the Constantinopolitan account, as it provided the itinerary of the Grand Komnenos (Constantinople, Georgia, Trebizond) and specified that his conquest of Trebizond was accomplished through Georgian aid. Knowing Alexios I's age at the foundation of the empire could not have hurt either. When confronting Palaiologan memories that Alexios had been a rogue governor, Panaretos could point to his empire's past and point out incongruous details in their account. For example, what responsible emperor would make a 22 year-old the governor of an important border province?

Occasionally he even included humorous moments, where we can hear the emperor's chief secretary complain about his job. For example, when Alexios III's chief minister, Niketas Scholaris, fled to Kerasous in 1355 in order to rally rebels around himself against Alexios, Panaretos remarks, "Who could possibly describe all the messages and dispatches that passed between Trebizond and Kerasous from that point on?"[23] No doubt, the memory of all the messages he wrote to Scholarios's group of rebels made Panaretos's hand ache.

As chief imperial secretary, Panaretos would also have had some responsibility for the preparation of the emperor's chrysobulls. Scholars have long assumed that the chronicle is Panaretos's only surviving work and proceeded to judge him from this composition. But we must remember that more texts survive to which Panaretos contributed than just his chronicle. From the period when he was demonstrably *protonotarios*, that is 1363–1379, we have a surprisingly large number of surviving imperial chrysobulls for foreign powers, monasteries, and even a private individual. These are summarized in chronological order below:

22 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 3.
23 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 90 (70 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 27.

1364 Chrysobull in favor of Venice[24]
1364 Chrysobull in favor of the Soumela Monastery[25]
1371 Chrysobull in favor of George Doranites[26]
1374 Chrysobull in favor of the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos[27]
1376 Chrysobull in favor of Venice[28]

To this list, we can probably also add a lost chrysobull for the monastery of Saint Phokas in Kordyle, about 70 kilometers west of Trebizond. In his chronicle, Panaretos reports on Alexios III's foundation of the monastery in the 1360s, no doubt because he helped draft its foundational documents.[29] Panaretos also probably played an important role in drafting the Venetian chrysobull, as he was part of the embassy that requested the renewal of Venetian-Trapezuntine relations in 1363. There may even be traces of his compositional style in the document. For example, throughout his chronicle, Panaretos refers to Trebizond and Constantinople with the epithet "blessed" εὐδαίμων.[30] In the 1364 Venetian chrysobull, the epithet is also used for Trebizond and even extended to Venice.[31] It is worth noting that that a specimen of Panaretos's secretarial hand may even survive among these chrysobulls, as Dionysiou's and Soumela's original chrysobulls survive.[32] As Panaretos's chronicle survives only as an apograph, there is no way of knowing for sure. But it seems quite probable that Alexios III's chief secretary would have at least overseen and edited some of these documents. After all, we have a few chrysobulls and *prostagmata* composed by Nikephoros Choumnos, the head of the imperial chancery under Andronikos II Pal-

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24 D. Zakythinos, Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens. Paris 1932.
25 F. Miklosich / J. Müller, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, V. Vienna 1887, 276 – 280.
26 S. Lampros, Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσοβούλλον λόγον Ἀλεξίου Γ' τοῦ μεγάλου Κομνηνού αὐτοκράτορος Τραπεζοῦντας. *NE* 2 (1905) 187 – 198; E. Lobel, A Chrysobull of Alexios III Grand Komnenos. *Bodleian Library Record* 3 (1921) 140 – 143.
27 N. Oikonomidès, Actes de Dionysiou. Paris 1968, 59 – 61.
28 R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, II. Venice 1899, 229 – 230 (136). On the date, see S. P. Karpov, The Empire of Trebizond and Venice in 1374 – 75 (a chrysobull redated). Birmingham 1978.
29 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 94 (74 L).
30 Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 24.
31 Zakythinos, Chrysobulle (as footnote 24 above) 29 ll. 8, 31 l. 41.
32 The authenticity of Soumela's was recently proven by R. Stefec, Die Textgeschichte des chrysobullos logos des Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela (1364). *BZ* 111 (2018) 747 – 776.

aiologos (1282–1330), which survive in both Choumnos's collection of his works and the archives of the monasteries for which they were issued.[33]

Understanding Panaretos as a contributor and even composer of these documents broadens our perspective of him as an author. Scholars of Trebizond have labeled Panaretos as laconic and often colloquial, as he allows many Pontic expressions and grammatical phenomena to slip into his chronicle.[34] But the chronicler was capable of writing and understanding elevated, Byzantine bureaucratic prose. For example, the proem of Alexios III's chrysobull for Soumela eloquently argues that mankind's weapons, walls, and defenses pale in comparison with the power of the Virgin Mary. Alexios III cannot begin to describe the gifts of the Virgin or record them in a historical text (λόγῳ ξυγγράφειν ἱστορικῷ).[35] The substitution of ξυγγράφειν for συγγράφειν is a nice touch testifying to the chrysobull-writer's knowledge of the Thucydidean tradition of history.[36] A man in Panaretos's position probably would have been well aware of the Athenian historian, as his predecessor as *protonotarios* Constantine Loukites (d. after 1336) had inherited a copy of Thucydides from the noted astronomer Gregory Chionades.[37] Similarly, his contemporary the metropolitan of Trebizond, Joseph Lazaropoulos (d. after 1368) shows some awareness of the historian in an oration for Saint Eugenios, writing that, "even followers of Thucydides and Demosthenes could hardly have been able to appropriately praise [the emperor Alexios II (1297–1330)]."[38] We also know that Thucydidean histories such as Prokopios circulated at Trebizond, as an anonymous poem in honor of perhaps Alexios I (1204–1222) or Alexios IV (1417–1429), celebrates the emperor's Roman ancestors who once humbled the proud Vandal king Geiseric (530–4).[39]

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33 J. Verpeaux, Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255–1327). Paris 1959, 93–96.

34 On the colloquial Pontic Greek used in the chronicle, see Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 17–19.

35 Miklosich / Müller, Acta (as footnote 25 above) V 276.

36 E.g., Thuc. 1.1: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος **ξυνέγραψε** τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων …

37 An imperfect transcription of Loukites's notice of ownership of Vat. Ottob. gr. 211 is published in E. Feron / G. Cozza-Luzi, Codices manuscripti graeci ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Rome 1893, 124. A correct transcription is published in R. Stefec, Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 215.

38 J.O. Rosenqvist, The hagiographic dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154. Uppsala 1996, 220 l. 300.

39 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας. St. Petersburg 1891, I 436 ll. 38–42. Cf. Prokopios, *Wars* 4.6–8.

Panaretos' use of sources

Contextualizing Panaretos within his secretarial functions can thus help us better understand his chronicle. His function as imperial secretary dictated what kind of information he recorded, such as historical notes on Trebizond's relationships with its neighbors and reports on the comings and goings of ambassadors between them. It is now time to extend the scope of our investigation and discuss where he obtained his information and how he processed it as a chronicler.

The question of Panaretos's sources was first raised by Jakob Fallmerayer in the early nineteenth century,[40] who suggested that he derived his chronicle from murals painted on the walls of the imperial palace accompanied by brief accounts of events, as described by the cardinal Bessarion in the fifteenth century:

> Ἐκ δέ γ' ἐπὶ θάτερα μήκει τε μήκιστος οἶκος καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστος παρατέταται, τοὔδαφος μὲν λευκῷ λίθῳ σύμπας ὑπεστρωμένος, χρυσῷ δὲ τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ ποικιλίᾳ χρωμάτων καὶ τοῖς τῆς γραφῆς καταστραπτόμενος ἄνθεσιν, ἄστρα τε προδεικνῦσαν ἐν τῷ ξύμπαντι ἑαυτῆς κύτει καὶ αὐγὰς ἀποπέμπουσαν ὡς ἂν οὐρανοῦ μίμημα καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιδεικνυμένην τῆς γραφῆς περιττότητα καὶ τρυφήν· τά τε κύκλῳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τοίχοις αὐτοῖς γέγραπται μὲν ὁ τῶν βασιλέων χορὸς ὅσοι τε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἦρξαν ὅσοις τε προγόνοις ἐχρήσαντο, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα κίνδυνον ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν περιστάντα διήνεγκε καὶ ὅσοι κατ'αὐτῆς ἐπιόντες καθ' αὑτῶν ἔγνωσαν ἐγχειρίσαντες.
>
> On the other side as you enter there extends a building of very great length and very great beauty. Its floor is paved entirely with white marble, while its ceiling gleams with gold, a variety of colors, and masterpieces of painting. The entire vault shimmers with stars casting their light in imitation of the sky and displaying the extraordinary refinement and luxury of the painting. In a circle around the walls of the building they have had painted a procession of both the emperors who have ruled our city and of their ancestors, and there are also scenes depicting the dangers which the city has had to undergo as well as those who have attacked it, only to recognize that they were fighting a losing battle.[41]

While this thesis is appealing, scholars have been hesitant to accept it, preferring to imagine Panaretos like a modern researcher, who derived most of his information from Trapezuntine archival materials such as documents and regnal lists, to

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40 J.P. Fallmerayer, Originalfragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Material zur Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt. *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 4 (1844/1) 9.

41 O. Lampsides, Ὁ 'Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα' λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος. *Archeion Pontou* 39 (1984) 64. Translated in Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 197–199.

which he had access as *protonotarios*.[42] There is no doubt that Panaretos used archival records such as these when he wrote about near-contemporary and contemporary times (particularly after the 1330's). Below I will discuss an instance in which the chronicler may have incorporated another secretary's records. But for the period between the foundation of the empire in 1204 and the death of Alexios II in 1330, the chronicler's method of composition deserves further scrutiny. It is easy to assume that Panaretos derived most of his information in this section from imperial records, but one must wonder how useful they actually were and how much information about the empire's past they could provide. Or, to put it another way, how much information could they provide about the questions that interested Panaretos? Imperial correspondence might have aided a researcher to reconstruct the preoccupations and concerns of Trebizond's emperors. Chrysobulls and contracts could have provided dates and information on the emperors' official activity both at home and abroad. Certainly, Panaretos must have been personally familiar with these kinds of documents from his official duties. For example, he probably had a hand in drafting the emperor's chrysobull for the Soumela monastery, which had been similarly endowed by John II the Grand Komnenos (1280 – 1297), as the Soumela chrysobull informs us.[43] A copy of John's original chrysobull must have been kept in the imperial archives. But Panaretos does not mention any of John's activities such as this, even though the event must have been of some importance to him, as he visited the monastery with the emperor and would have needed to know its history while composing the emperor's chrysobull for the monastery. Events such as monastic endowments and foundations were of interest to Panaretos, as he elsewhere records Alexios III's foundation of the monastery of Saint Phokas at Kordyle.

For this early period, Panaretos does not appear to have profited from the detailed kinds of information which he could have found in the imperial archives. His record of events is sparse and often lacks much detail. For example, his entries on the reign of John II, who died only a generation before Panaretos was born, are generally non-specific after the Grand Komnenos and his wife returned to Trebizond from Constantinople:

> Εἶτα ἐγένετο ἡ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ κῦρ Γεωργίου ἐπιδρομὴ καὶ κατάσχεσις, ὃν καὶ Πλάνον ἔλεγον, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐπίθεσις καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἡ ἐξαίφνης φυγὴ κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας τῆς Κομνηνῆς, θυγατρὸς πρώτης τοῦ μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ κῦρ Μανουὴλ ἐκ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας

42 Lampsides, Τινὰ (as footnote 3 above) 41 – 44; Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 40 – 41; Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above) 137.

43 Miklosich / Müller, Acta (as footnote 25 above) V 278.

Ῥουσουντάνας. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστη εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶν ὁ Καλοϊωάννης ὁ Κομνηνὸς καὶ βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τοῖς Λιμνίοις μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ εἰς τὰς ις΄, ἡμέρᾳ ς΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιης, ἔτους ͵ςωε΄.

Then the raid and capture of lord George Komnenos, whom they called the Vagabond, took place, and after him the coup, reign, and sudden flight of lady Theodora Komnene, the eldest daughter of lord Manuel the Grand Komnenos and Rusudani of Georgia. Kaloioannes Komnenos was again restored to the throne and, after reigning eighteen years in all, he passed away at Limnia on Friday, August 16, indiction 10, 6805 (1297).[44]

In just a matter of a few sentences, Panaretos has collapsed the reign of John II, recording a few principal events that impressed themselves on the memory of the Trapezuntines such as civil war between the Grand Komnenoi. But even though the chronicler could have obtained exact dates on when John II endowed Soumela from the emperor's chrysobull, he does not even mention the emperor's relationship with the monastery.

For the early history of Trebizond, Panaretos's most visible source of information seems to have been oral history. In a rare instance, he explicitly recognizes his oral sources by qualifying a report that the emperor John I (1235–1238) died on the polo grounds with λέγεται, 'it is said.'[45] But we know that he must have used oral sources for other early events such as the attack and rout of the army of Melik sultan in the second year of Andronikos Gidos's reign (1223). Panaretos's contemporary, John Lazaropoulos explicitly tells us that "we did not hear about the story from hearsay, nor was it transmitted through dreams and visions, nor was it reported by our distant ancestors: no, our kin who gave birth to us and brought us up saw with their own eyes and handed it down to us and our forefathers."[46] No doubt, Panaretos culled his report from similar oral traditions. But his report is brief:

Ἐν δὲ τῷ ͵ςψλα΄ ἔτει, τῷ δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ τῆς τοῦ Γίδωνος βασιλείας, ἦλθεν ὁ Μελὶκ σουλτὰν κατὰ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ ἐχαώθησαν ὅσοι ἦσαν ἅπαντες.

In 6731 (1223), during the second year of Gidos's reign, Melik Sultan came to attack Trebizond, and nearly all his army was lost.[47]

44 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 76 (62 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 7.
45 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L).
46 Rosenqvist, St. Eugenios (as footnote 38 above) 310 ll. 347–350.
47 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 3.

Panaretos's report no doubt contains things that could have been easily remembered in the oral tradition, such as the year in which the army was destroyed (the second of Gidos's reign) and the destruction of the army of Melik sultan.[48]

Nonetheless, as a user of oral traditions, it is worth noting that Panaretos exercised a level of judgement over how much and what he recorded. Take for example his report on the defeat of Melik sultan. At 4779 words, Lazaropoulos's narrative of the defeat of Melik sultan is five-sixths the length of Panaretos's entire chronicle (5999 words). Panaretos dispenses with the event in just twenty-three words. Panaretos seems to have been interested only in the meat of historical events which could potentially be useful. He has much lengthier entries on treaties and wars later in the chronicle, but even though the defeat of Melik sultan resulted in a treaty between the Seljuq sultan and the emperor of Trebizond, the Seljuq state was now defunct. Knowledge of this event and the resulting treaties probably would have done him little good in negotiations with the empire's immediate Turkish neighbors.[49]

One suspects that another factor in Panaretos's selection of events was a certain disdain for the mythical, which he may have acquired from reading historical texts such as Thucydides. For example, John Lazaropoulos reports a tale about the emperor Alexios II slaying a serpent that was harassing his subjects who lived around Mount Mithrion near the city. The tale was tied to a supposed serpent's skull kept at the imperial palace, and published more widely by Lazaropoulos in an oration in honor of Saint Eugenios.[50] In its essential outlines, the tale is conventional, as heroic figures from the god Apollo to Saint George had slain serpents.[51] In later Trapezuntine folklore, Alexios I (1204 – 1222) would become the slayer of the serpent.[52] But even though this tale was circulating at the imperial court, Panaretos omitted it from his brief account of the reign

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48 For a recent study of the event, see A. Peacock, The Saljūq campaign against the Crimea and the expansionist policy of the early reign of "Alā" al-Dīn Kayqubād. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (2006) 133 – 149. The identity of Melik sultan is much debated. For a discussion of the various proposed candidates, see Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 59 note 87.

49 Other treaties: Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 – 75 L), 106 (78 – 9 L).

50 Rosenqvist, St. Eugenios (as footnote 38 above) 220 l. 302 – 228 l. 481. For the skull being kept in the imperial palace, see 254 l. 357 – 358.

51 D. Ogden, Drakōn: dragon myth and serpent cult in the Greek and Roman worlds. Oxford 2013.

52 P. Metaxopoulos, Ἡ Θεία καὶ Ἱερά Ἀκολουθία τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα καὶ Σωφρονίου τῶν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἱερού Χριστοφόρου, τῶν ἐν Μελά Ὄρει ἀσκησάντων … συντεθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἐν συνόψει ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς. Leipzig 1775, 39; H. Lynch, Armenia, travels and studies. London 1901, I 22.

of Alexios II, perhaps because it lacked credibility or belonged to a different genre.

When Panaretos confronted oral material, he thus exercised a measure of judgement in deciding what to include. But he occasionally came upon conflicting information. His entries on the death of John I Axouchos and the succession of his brother Manuel I the Grand Komnenos are one such example:

> Ὃς καὶ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἓξ ἐκοιμήθη ἔτους ἑξακισχίλια ἑπτακόσια τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ. Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τζυκανιστηρίῳ παίζων ἐκρημνίσθη καὶ σπαραχθεὶς ἀπέθανε.
>
> Ἀπεκάρη γοῦν κατὰ μοναχοὺς Ἰωαννίκιος καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, κῦρ Μανουὴλ ὁ μέγας Κομνηνός, ὁ στρατηγικώτατος ἅμα καὶ εὐτυχέστατος, τῷ αὐτῷ ͵ςψμς΄ ἔτει.

> After reigning for six years, he [John I Axouchos] died in the year 6746 (1238). It is said that he was playing polo in the polo grounds when he fell and died after being severely injured.
>
> Ioannikios was then tonsured as a monk and his younger brother, lord Manuel I the Grand Komnenos, who was the greatest and most successful general, succeeded to the imperial office in that same year, 6746 (1238).[53]

There are two major problems here. The first is chronological. After reporting that the emperor Andronikos Gidos (1222–1235) died in 1235 directly before these entries, it is problematic that his successor Axouchos ruled six years and died in 1238. As Panaretos's counting of regnal years does not include the years in which an emperor was co-ruler, the chronicler seems to have found conflicting information about the length of John's rule and left the matter unresolved. I assume that John's reign of six years is not a scribal error because ἕξ is written out in the manuscript, and thus unlikely to have been a corrupted numeral. Scholars have generally followed Panaretos's preferred solution that John died in 1238, although he could be wrong. But it is worth noting here what looks like confusion caused by a regnal list used in the first entry and a more precise accession notice in the second entry.

The second problem in the text is the confusing death of John Axouchos on the polo field and the monastic retirement of Ioannikios. Who is Ioannikios? A scholarly tradition dating back to the first modern historian of Trebizond, Jakob Fallmerayer, holds that that he was the son of John, who was forced into a monastery, so that his uncle could take the throne.[54] Since the chronicle

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53 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L).

54 J.P. Fallmerayer, Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt. Munich 1827, 102; G. Finlay, The history of Greece from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond, 1204–1461. Edinburgh 1851, 392. W. Miller, Trebizond:

implies that Ioannikios was Manuel's brother, Rustam Shukurov has suggested that Ioannikios was actually a brother of Manuel and John Axouchos.[55] Finally, Nikolaos Oikonomides proposed that Ioannikios was the monastic name of John Axouchos. As Byzantines usually took monastic names beginning with the same letter as their baptismal name, John had retired to a monastery and died shortly after from his crippling injuries.[56] I favor Oikonomides's solution and would suggest that the problem derives from the conjunction of two separate sources. For his information on the gruesome death of John Axouchos, Panaretos clearly derived his information from oral memories (λέγεται) associated with the polo field in Trebizond. Oral tales exaggerate events in transmission. For example, the emperor George Komnenos (1266 – 1280) was betrayed by his officials and handed over to his Mongol overlord Abaqa in 1280.[57] Contemporary Armenian sources tell us that Abaqa had the emperor executed, but Panaretos reports that he survived and later attacked Trebizond hoping to retake his throne.[58] Imprisonment became execution in the retelling, and in Axouchos's case a crippling fall became immediate death. But Panaretos reported the oral tale anyway, even though he had information that the emperor John retired to a monastery. As with the dating issue, he made no effort to resolve the inconsistencies in his text.

Oral memories were important sources of information for Panaretos. Although scholars have generally disregarded Fallmerayer's suggestion that Panaretos derived some of his chronicle from the murals of imperial palace, one must admit that memories and stories associated with the depicted events were quite possibly among Panaretos' sources. There may also have existed palace chronicle(s) along the lines of the short chronicles or marginalia, recording the deaths of the emperors and an occasional event. But it is also possible that Panaretos did some research to reconstruct the early years of the empire. Given the brevity of some entries that record little more than the accession and death of an emperor (e. g., the death of John Axouchos), Panaretos possibly obtained his information from visiting the tombs of the emperors and reading their funerary epitaphs. The tombs of Trebizond's emperors were conveniently located near the imperial palace in the churches of the Virgin Chrysokephalos and the Theoske-

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the last Greek empire of the Byzantine era, 1204 – 1461. New York 1926, 25; É. Janssens, Trébizonde en Colchide. Brussels 1969, 80.

55 Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 102 – 104.

56 N. Oikonomides, Αἱ χρονολογίαι εἰς τὸ χρονικὸν Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου. *Neon Athenaion* 2 (1957) 72 – 73.

57 On the event, see A. Bryer, The Fate of George Komnenos, Ruler of Trebizond (1266 – 1280). *BZ* 66 (1973) 332 – 350.

58 A. Galstyan, Армянские Источинки о Монголах: Исвлечения из рукописей. Moscow 1962, 29, 83. Cf. Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 76 (62 L).

pastos Monastery as well as possibly a small chapel inside the imperial palace complex where Alexios I and Alexios II were buried.[59] No Byzantine imperial epitaphs survive *in situ*, but we know that some of the short chroniclers visited the tombs of the emperors for research purposes, as Phillip Grierson has shown.[60] If Panaretos was using the tombs of Trebizond's early emperors as a source, this may well explain a curious anecdote he includes about the body of John II after he died at Limnia, the empire's westernmost stronghold:

> Ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι, ἐκομίσθη τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χρυσοκεφάλου.
>
> While he was still warm, his remains were brought to Trebizond and buried in the church of the Virgin Chrysokephalos.[61]

How the emperor's body could have stayed warm for a journey of some 300 kilometers from Limnia to Trebizond is unknown. Scholars have noted this potential problem in the text and suggested reading σῶν 'uncorrupted, fresh' instead of ζῶν 'warm.'[62] But regardless of which reading scholars prefer, a miraculous tale of the emperor's body arriving uncorrupted or still warm after a long journey from Limnia is exactly the kind of lore Panaretos might have learned after inquiring about the emperor's tomb. Funerary epitaphs also could have provided Panaretos with some of the epithets that he bestows on Trebizond's emperors. For example, he calls Manuel I "the greatest general" and "the most fortunate" (ὁ

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59 On the tombs of the emperors of Trebizond, see Bryer / Winfield, Byzantine monuments (as footnote 5 above) I 201. F. Uspensky, Очерки из истории Трапезунтской империи. Saint Petersburg 1929, 38 – 43, suggests that an inscription he found in a chapel in the imperial palace complex may suggest this was the burial place of Alexios I. Bryer / Winfield, Byzantine monuments (as footnote 5 above) vol. 1, 184, is cautious. But if true, we know Alexios II was laid in the same tomb as Alexios I from a contemporary funeral oration by Constantine Loukites: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα (as footnote 39 above) I 425.

60 P. Grierson, The tombs and obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337 – 1042); With an Additional Note. *DOP* 16 (1962) 1 – 63.

61 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 78 (63 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 7. Shukurov and Karpov (p. 129) argue in favor of altering the text, so that the problematic phrase ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτι is appended to the previous sentence. However, the manuscript here is clearly punctuated: ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶν ἔτϊ, ἐκομίσθη etc. For a facsimile, see Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 24.

62 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L); Fallmerayer, Originalfragmente (as footnote 40 above) 14; Lampros, Τὸ Τραπεζουντιακὸν (as footnote 9 above) 268; Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above) 190 note 80. For an interpretation in favor of reading ζῶν in light of the medical phenomenon known as post-mortem caloricity, see Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 228 – 229.

στρατηγικώτατος ἅμα καὶ εὐτυχέστατος), noting that he ruled well and in a God-pleasing manner (καλῶς καὶ θεαρέστως).[63]

While Panaretos's researches into Trebizond's early years required him to collate multiple sources of information, as he drew closer to his own times the chronicler supplemented his account with information from more recent written sources, particularly for the period of the civil wars. One possible indication of this method of composition is the bewildering use of ethnonyms for the Genoese in the text. The chronicle is relatively consistent in its use of ethnonyms, employing the usual Byzantine range. The Trapezuntines are Romans or Christians.[64] The Turks are Turks, Hagarenes, or Muslims.[65] The Georgians are Georgians and Abasgians.[66] The Venetians are only Venetians.[67] However, the chronicler employs five different ethnonyms for the Genoese. They are called Λατῖνοι, Φράγκοι, Γενουῗται, Γενουβίσοι, and Ἰανουαίοι.[68] While the first three usages are normal and demand no explanation, the latter two are unusual. Γενουβίσοι, a calque on the Italian *genovese*, is relatively rare among Byzantine authors. During the late Byzantine period, it generally appears in texts only where the writer in question has been exposed to the West and to Italian. For example, it appears in several letters by Demetrios Kydones, who studied at Rome, and in the chronicle of the Morea.[69] More interesting is the highly unusual ethnonym Ἰανουαίοι, which derives from the Latin name for Genoa (Ianua). For all that they delighted in using archaicizing and erudite terms for foreigners, the Byzantines never used the city's Latin name, with two exceptions.[70] The first is Manuel Holobolos' panegyric of Michael VIII Palaiologos, who refers to the city as Ἰάννουα to show off his knowledge of Latin when he connects it with the Roman

63 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 74 (61 L).
64 Ibid. 82, 92, 104, 106 (66, 71, 77–78, 79 L, respectively).
65 Ibid. 76, 78, 82, 84, 92, 96, 98, 102, 106 (63, 64, 66, 67, 71–72, 73, 75, 77, 78 L, respectively).
66 Ibid. 102 (76 L).
67 Ibid. 86 (68 L), 90 (70 L).
68 Ibid. 78 (Λατῖνοι); 84, 86 (Φράγκοι); 84, 98 (Γενουῗται); 90 (Γενουβίσοι); 86 (Ἰανουαίοι); Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 63 (Λατῖνοι); 67, 68 (Φράγκοι); 67, 74 (Γενουῗται); 70 (Γενουβίσοι); 68 (Ἰανουαίοι).
69 R.J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance. Città del Vaticano 1960, letter 167.20–2; 197.17; 418.10; J. Schmitt, The Chronicle of Morea: A history in political verse, relating the establishment of feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the thirteenth century. London 1904, Recension P: l. 9107, 9133; Recension H: l. 8786, 9107, 9127, 9133, 9139, 9166, 9188, 9190, 9204; D. Balfour, Politico-historical works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429). *WBS*, 13. Vienna 1979, 58.
70 H. Ditten, Die Namen für Venedig und Genua bei den letzten byzantinische Geschichtsschreibern (15. Jahrhundert). *Helikon* 6 (1966) 51–70.

god Ianus.[71] The second is Laonikos Chalkokondyles, who transliterates the Latin name as Ἰανύη and transforms it into the ethnonym Ἰανύϊοι throughout his *Histories*.[72] But what is noteworthy is that both of these authors knew Latin and chose to use it for literary purposes.[73] Their usage was not common among Byzantines. In Panaretos, then, the term seems heavily out of place in the text's créole of Greek, which often lapses into colloquial expressions.[74] Panaretos uses the term Γενουῗται in the entry in which he introduces himself as the author of the chronicle and subsequently throughout the work.[75] This is only to be expected, given his position at the Byzantine court as *protonotarios*. Γενουῗται was preferred term for the Genoese in the Byzantine chancery. For example, the surviving 1364 Greek chrysobull for Venice, which Panaretos no doubt helped draft, uses the term throughout.[76]

Thus, it is strange that the chronicle uses so many Western appellations for the Genoese. It is possible that Panaretos knew Latin. Perhaps that is why Alexios III sent him to Constantinople tasked with the mission of reestablishing connections between Venice and Trebizond in 1363. However, Γενουβίσοι and Ἰανουαίοι appear only in early, isolated entries, where the author does not disclose his involvement:

> Τῷ αὐτῷ ͵ϛωνϛʹ, ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ, ἐπιάσθη ἡ Κερασοῦς καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσθη καὶ ἐπυρπολήθη παρὰ Ἰανουαίων.
>
> Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ καὶ ἔτει ἦλθαν τὰ Βενέτικα τὰ κάτεργα κατὰ τῶν Γενουβίσων καὶ ἔκαυσαν καράβια πολλά.
>
> In January 6856 (1348), Kerasous was taken, enslaved, and burned by the Genoese.
>
> In that same month and year (August 1351), Venetian galleys came here to attack the Genoese and burned many light boats.[77]

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71 X. Siderides, Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβώλου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μιχαὴλ Η′ τὸν Παλαιολόγον. *EEBS* 3 (1926) 186.
72 J. Darkó, Laonici Chalcocondylae historiarum demonstrationes. Budapest 1922, I 80, calls Genoa the gate of France, thus demonstrating Laonikos's knowledge of the city's Latin name.
73 For Laonikos's knowledge of Latin, see the testimony of Cyriaco d'Ancona: E. Bodnar / C. Foss, Cyriac of Ancona: later travels. Cambridge, MA 2003, 298.
74 On the colloquial Pontic Greek used in the chronicle, see Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 17 – 9.
75 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 L).
76 Zakythinos, Chrysobulle (as footnote 24 above) 30, 32, 34.
77 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 86 (68 L), 90 (70 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 21, 27.

Given the nature of these entries, it is possible that he took them over from a source, possibly from the emperor's Latin secretary.

With regard to contemporary events that Panaretos records, his record of events occurring throughout the empire is somewhat limited. Obviously, his view of the empire is mostly limited to Trebizond and the provinces immediately surrounding the city. He occasionally notes external events such as the deaths of the Byzantine emperors Michael VIII and Andronikos III,[78] but his information is usually somehow linked to either Alexios III or Trebizond. For example, the people of Matzouka, an administrative district encompassing the modern Maçka and the Soumela monastery, slaughtered the invading emir of Bayburt and his troops on their own initiative in 1363. They then marched throughout Trebizond displaying the heads of their foes. Panaretos learned of this event because he probably witnessed the Matzoukan parade, which was also commemorated in two poems by Andreas Libadenos.[79] But the chronicler's vision did extend south to Chaldia along the profitable caravan roads. For example, he records the fall and reconquest of towns along the caravan routes such as Golacha and Cheriana.[80]

Panaretos is somewhat nearsighted for events that transpired beyond the immediate hinterland of Trebizond and caravan routes. For example, Lazia and the Greek cities near the empire's border with Georgia are almost completely ignored unless Alexios III passed through them. But they were important enough to Trapezuntines. In Panaretos's lifetime, the region would produce a rebel movement that unseated the usurper Eirene Palaiologina and enthroned the empress Anna, the daughter of Alexios II.[81] A few decades after Panaretos, the Trapezuntine-

78 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 76 (62 L), 82 (66 L).
79 Ibid. 96 (73 L); O. Lampsides, Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ βίος καὶ ἔργα. Athens 1975, 105–112. On Libadenos, see M. Hinterberger, Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz. *WBS*, 22. Vienna 1999, 290–294; J. Dimitroukas, Andreas Libadenos' travel to Egypt and Palestine and its description: 1325 or 1326, in J. P. Monferrer Sala / V. Christides / T. Papadopoulos (eds.), East and West. Essays on Byzantine and Arab worlds. Piscataway, NJ 2009, 277–284; M. Hinterberger, Ο Ανδρέας Λιβαδηνός, συγγραφέας/γραφέας λογίων κειμένων, αναγνώστης/γραφέας δημωδών κειμένων: ο ελληνικός κώδικας 525 του Μονάχου, in D. Holton et al. (eds.), Κωδικογράφοι, συλλέκτες, διασκευαστές και εκδότες. Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις της όψιμης βυζαντινής και πρώιμης νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου που πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Ινστιτούτο της Δανίας στην Αθήνα, 23–26 Μαίου 2002, προς τιμήν των Hans Eideneier και Arnold van Gemert. Herakleion 2005, 25–42; A. Asp-Talwar, Bad luck and divine protection – religion and biiography in the Periegesis by Andrew Libadenos, in M. Mitre (ed.), Tradition and transformation. Dissent and consent in the Mediterranean. Kiel 2016, 163–182.
80 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 92, 102 (Cheriana); 96, 102, 104 (Golacha); Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 71, 77 (Cheriana); 74, 77, 78 (Golacha).
81 Ibid. 82 (66 L).

born cardinal Bessarion would proclaim in his encomium of Trebizond that Lazia had been ruled by Trebizond 'without blemish' (καθαρῶς) since antiquity and would report the military accomplishments of the Laz kingdom under Justinian, as if they were in fact Trapezuntine exploits.[82] Nor was Lazia a cultural wasteland. Under the Grand Komnenoi, it was possible to buy from a Laz priest a copy of sophisticated literary works, including an invective against the monody genre.[83] Limnia at the extreme west of the empire is similarly problematic. The emperor Alexios III visited the town on numerous occasions, chasing off encroaching Turkman tribes.[84] But even though the town fell to the Turkmen sometime between 1369 and 1379, we hear nothing of this event even though Alexios III clearly valued the town's strategic position highly enough that he was willing to trade his own daughter for the town in 1379 with the Turkish emir Taccedin.[85]

In sum, Panaretos was not just an imperial bureaucrat sifting through the imperial archives like a modern historian. There is certainly some truth to this picture, particularly with regard to events that transpired during Panaretos's lifetime. But when handling the distant past, Panaretos seems to have faced a distinct lack of material and tried to fill the gaps through a combination of oral tradition and research. In carrying out this project, he exercised some level of judgment, concisely presenting events lengthily exposed elsewhere such as Melik sultan's siege of Trebizond, or completely omitting more mythical material such as the story of Alexios II and the dragon. From this examination, we can see Panaretos as a researcher and a critic of the past who probably worked without very detailed sources for the distant past of Trebizond. We presume that the empire of Trebizond kept longstanding archives from which the historian could have reconstructed the past, but one must wonder how well-preserved the palace archives were. This is not to say that the empire kept bad records, but let us remember that fires destroyed Trebizond on multiple occasions (1243, 1302, 1341)

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82 Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 264 – 265. This same stance was independently adopted by Metaxopoulos, Ἀκολουθία (as footnote 52 above) 37.

83 A. Sideras, Eine byzantinische Invektive gegen die Verfasser von Grabreden. Ἀνωνύμου μονῳδία εἰς μονῳδοῦντας. *WBS*, 23. Vienna 2002, 12, records a copy of a buyer's note that he/she acquired our sole manuscript of this work (Paris, Suppl. gr. 1284) from a Laz priest in Lazia with the emperor Alexios. As the manuscript most likely dates from the fourteenth century (see the review of Sideras by Niels Gaul, *BZ* 100, 2007, 257 – 261), the emperor Alexios mentioned here is likely to be Alexios III (1349 – 90) or Alexios IV (1417 – 1426).

84 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 92, 96, 106 (72, 73, 79 L, respectively).

85 Ibid.106 (79 L).

and thus might have destroyed earlier archival records, leaving Panaretos without the raw material that he needed.[86]

Panaretos and the regime of Alexios III

Whether consciously or not, every historian selects and creates stories by what he chooses to include and exclude. This process is perhaps most evident in Panaretos's portrayal of his master Alexios III. Through his selection of material, Panaretos generally crafts a positive picture of his lord, who is shown to exhibit many of the virtues of a successful Roman emperor.[87] For example, Panaretos repeatedly shows the diligence of his master. After a trip to the Georgian frontier to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Anna to the Georgian king Bagrat V (1360 – 93), Panaretos tell us that the emperor immediately (παρευθὺς) left to patrol the summer pastures of his empire.[88] Sometimes his reports showing the emperor's diligence can be rather mundane, such as the emperor's patrol of the summer pastures in the Pontic Alps during 1357, even though this action did not produce tangible results, such as the capture or slaughter of Turkish tribesmen.[89] Other patrols reported by Panaretos include this element and are no doubt included to demonstrate the emperor's courage and manliness in combat, such as the patrol of 1370, during which the emperor routed a Turkish army of 800 men despite being outnumbered 8:1. Panaretos writes,

> Ἐξαίφνης συνήντησαν Τούρκους ὡσεὶ καβαλλαρίους πεντακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τριακοσίους. Ἦσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν βασιλέαν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καβαλλάριοι· ὅτε καὶ κροτήσας πόλεμον νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διώκει αὐτούς, στείλας καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀγαρηνικὰς ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν τούτων σημαίαν.
>
> They suddenly encountered some five hundred Turkish cavalrymen and three hundred infantrymen. There were about a hundred cavalrymen surrounding the emperor. This was the situation when the emperor joined battle with them, decisively overpowered them, and chased them away. He sent back here the heads of the Hagarenes and their battle standard."[90]

86 Ibid. 74 (62 L), 78 (63 L), 82 (66 L), respectively.
87 On Byzantine ideals of imperial rulership during this period, see D. Angelov, Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium (1204 – 1330). Cambridge 2007, 78 – 115.
88 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 102 (76 L).
89 Ibid. 94 (72).
90 Ibid.,102 (77 L).

Panaretos's portrayal of Alexios also demonstrates his master's magnanimity toward his political enemies. Consider his relationship with his minister Niketas Scholaris. Scholaris had served as a kingmaker during the civil war of 1340–1355, regularly replacing emperors with candidates whom he believed he could control. Alexios III was one such candidate, having been summoned from exile and placed on the imperial throne at the age of eleven. When the teenage emperor and his supporters proved less malleable than the kingmaker had hoped, Scholaris fled Trebizond for the nearby city of Kerasous, where he and his supporters held out until Alexios III attacked them and drove them to the mountain fortress of Kechrina. After a short siege, the emperor and Scholaris reconciled, and Scholaris resumed his position. When Scholaris died six years later in 1361, Panaretos tells us that "the emperor greatly mourned his passing at that time and led his funeral procession, wearing white for mourning as is the custom for rulers."[91]

Panaretos thus conveys the impression that Alexios could show magnanimity toward even one of his bitterest political enemies. His treatment of the rebels contrasts starkly with the brutality shown to other rebels during the Trapezuntine civil war, who were often executed, as Panaretos reports earlier in the text.[92] But it is worth pointing out that Alexios's magnanimity may not have been all that genuine. Within two years of his father's death, George Scholaris would launch a coup against the emperor with the powerful Kabazitai family and the metropolitan of Trebizond Nephon Pterygionites.[93] The coup failed, but Panaretos's chronicle appears to obscure our view of Alexios's relationship with his councilors. In the early years of his reign, this relationship was probably quite toxic. Explaining why his friend Niketas Scholaris departed for Kerasous and refused to return to Trebizond, Andreas Libadenos reports that "frequent messages and ambassadors passed between the rulers and our companions (ἑταιρείαν), bidding us to hastily return to Trebizond. But they put off their return, alleging on legitimate grounds (ἐνδίκοις λόγοις) that they feared for their safety and lives, as the rulers had been filled by a fiery and not ill-suited rage. It had already been stoked by some of their opponents. But this just added more fuel to the flames and caused it to jump into the air."[94] The emperor's rage was apparently indomitable, and from this period we possess one of the boldest works ever addressed to a reigning Roman emperor, by the imperial *pro-*

91 Ibid.
92 E.g. ibid. 82 (65–66 L).
93 Ibid. 98 (75 L).
94 Lampsides, Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ (as footnote 79 above) 74.

tonotarios Stephanos Sgouropoulos.[95] Addressing Alexios in an admonitory poem, Sgouropoulos gloats that when he himself dies, which he expects to be soon, he will stand by Christ when Alexios faces judgment and accuse the emperor "like a beast wildly jumping, a wolf gnashing its teeth" for all his misdeeds, which included anger, listening to bad councilors, and showing Sgouropoulos no generosity.[96]

While Sgouropoulos might howl at the wickedness and impieties of Alexios, Panaretos, who was perhaps Sgouropoulos's (more amenable) replacement, details the emperor's piety. Entries such as that concerning the emperor's establishment of the monastery of Saint Phokas in Kordyle (mentioned above) show his benevolence toward the Church. Panaretos's discussion of an eclipse in 1361 similarly shows the emperor's piety in a moment of potential crisis. Eclipses induced panic in the people of Trebizond, who took to streets and threw rocks at Alexios's father, the unpopular emperor Basil Komnenos (1332–1340), in 1337.[97] But as Panaretos notes, Alexios and his court "opportunely found ourselves at the Soumela monastery of the Virgin Mary in Matzouka and we made many supplications and prayers at that time."[98] While other emperors might disregard these celestial manifestations of divine will, Alexios showed a healthy respect for the will of God. But Panaretos does not fail to show that Alexios, like any good Roman emperor worth his salt, also received the obeisance of inferior peoples, whether those people were the Turks "who escorted us as if they were our

95 There is some debate concerning when Sgouropoulos lived, as noted by Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 201–202. Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above) 176, prefers to see him as a courtier of Alexios III, while Shukurov, Великие Комнины 25, prefers to see him as the protonotarios of Alexios II (1298–1330). I favor identifying Sgouropoulos as a courtier of Alexios III, as Constantine Loukites seems to have occupied the position of *protonotarios* for almost the entirety of Alexios II's reign. We know from a letter of Gregory Chionades that he held the title in 1301 when Alexios II attacked Kerasous: J.B. Papadopoulos, Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί. *Epistemonike Epeteris Phiilosophikes Scholes* 1 (1927) 141–204: 195–197. He held the same title when Alexios II died in 1330 per the manuscript in which Loukites's funeral oration for the emperor survives: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα (as footnote 39 above) I 421. Finally, he appears to have held the same title under Alexios II's son Basil (1332–1340), as the anonymous writer of a horoscope for the year 1336 refers to him as *protonotarios* and *protovestarios:* R. Mercier, An almanac for Trebizond for the year 1336. *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, 7. Louvain-la-Neuve 1994, 23–24. If Loukites occupied the position for some 30–40 years, it seems improbable that Sgouropoulos could have held the same position under Alexios II.
96 T. Papatheodorides, Ἀνέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου. *Archeion Pontou* 19 (1954) 262–282: 273.
97 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 80 (65).
98 Ibid. 94 (73 L).

slaves" or the Gurieli of Georgia.[99] Even though his master was the emperor of a small enclave of the Roman world, the chronicler generally paints the Trapezuntine emperor as a typically good Roman emperor for posterity.

But for all the admiration that Panaretos shows Alexios, he does not completely ignore the failures of the regime he served. A Turkish raid on the Matzouka region south of Trebizond is blamed on "our neglect in guarding it."[100] The chronicler thus lays full blame on his own regime for its defensive failures. Similarly, his admiration for his emperor was to some degree tempered by an appreciation of his master's failures. When describing a campaign against the Çepni Turks who had occupied the Philabonites (Harşit) river valley in 1380, Panaretos reports that Alexios divided his army into two parts. He led one section north deep into the Pontic Alps before turning back and reaching the beach near Sthlabopiastes where he was supposed to wait and rendezvous with the other army. But the emperor did not wait, much to the dismay of the second contingent. According to Panaretos:

> Οἱ δὲ χʹ, οἱ ἀπελθόντες ἀπὸ τὸ Πέτρωμαν, ἐκούρσευσαν εἰς τὸ Κοτζαυτᾶ καὶ ἐποίησαν σφαγὴν καὶ κοῦρσον καὶ πυρκαϊὰν πολλήν· καταβαίνοντες δὲ μετὰ πολέμου, ὁσάκις ἐποίουν καὶ συμπλοκὴν μετὰ τῶν διωκόντων Τούρκων, πολλοὶ ἔπιπτον ἐκ τῶν Τούρκων. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐλπίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἰσχυρὰ πολεμοῦντες καὶ κτείνοντες ἤρχοντο. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ Σθλαβοπιάστου γενόμενοι, ὡς οὐχ εὗρον τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς ἐσυνεφώνησαν, μικρὸν πρὸς τροπὴν βλέψαντες ἔπεσον ὡσεὶ μβʹ Ῥωμαῖοι.
>
> Meanwhile, the six hundred who had set out from Petroman plundered as far as Kotzauta. They engaged in much slaughter, plundering, and burning. Whenever they engaged in combat with the Turks who were pursuing them as they fought their way down, many Turks fell. The Romans, who were hoping to find the emperor at the shore, were fighting fiercely and killing as they went, but when they came close to the beach of Sthlabopiastes and did not find the emperor there as they had arranged, they were more inclined to flee, and as many as forty-two Romans fell.[101]

While the chronicler does not explicitly attack his master for his failure to follow the prearranged plan, he also does not omit the failure. Throughout his chronicle, Panaretos creates a favorable image of his master as a good Roman emperor, but when the regime's or the emperor's failures were egregious, the chronicler lets the facts speak for themselves and avoids infusing his chronicle with passionate interjections.

99 Ibid. 96 (73 L), 104 (77 L).
100 Ibid. 94 (72 L).
101 Ibid. 106 – 108 (79 L).

Panaretos and the other

With regard to foreigners, Panaretos generally avoids explicit negative stereotyping. His image of Christian peoples is generally positive. The Georgians are the most highly regarded in the chronicle. Panaretos speaks admiringly of the marvels of Tbilisi and calls the emperor's son-in-law Bagrat V the 'greatest general', an epithet elsewhere bestowed only upon Manuel I the Grand Komnenos (1238–1263), whom the chronicler like other Trapezuntines regarded as one of Trebizond's greatest emperors.[102] The Venetians hardly ever appear in the chronicle, except in reference to their galleys which were hired out by various claimants to the Trapezuntine throne during the civil war (1340–1355). The Genoese appear more frequently, as they engaged in more belligerent activities toward the empire. Panaretos reports on their raiding of coastal cities, destruction of Trapezuntine property, and even a humiliating Trapezuntine naval defeat at their hands. However, the chronicler refrains from casting any judgements on them, unlike Constantinopolitan intellectuals such as George Pachymeres, Theodore Metochites, and Constantine Akropolites who reviled the haughty, supercilious behavior of the Genoese.[103] For example, both Pachymeres and Panaretos report on a military confrontation between them and Alexios II in 1301. The Genoese had become dissatisfied with their tax arrangement in Trebizond and wanted to pay no tax on their merchandise. When the emperor refused, "they became puffed up with their usual, endemic pride" and tried to leave Trebizond without paying any tax, precipitating a battle in which they were defeated.[104] But despite the occasionally charged relationship that existed between the Genoese and Trebizond, the chronicler refrains from any disparaging comments. His account is matter of fact:

> Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει ἐπυρπολήθη ἡ ἐξάρτησις μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων, ὅτε καὶ ἐγένετο μέγας πόλεμος.

102 Ibid. 110 (L 80) for Bagrat; 74 (61–62 L) for Manuel. Manuel is similarly admired in Constantine Loukites' funeral oration for Alexios II, whom he says avenged Manuel's empire: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα (as footnote 39 above) I 425.
103 On Byzantine attitudes toward the Genoese during this period, see S. Origone, Bisanzio e Genova. Genova 1997, 243–254; S. Origone, Genova vista da Bisanzio, in: La storia dei genovesi. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi sui Ceti Dirigenti nelle Istituzioni della Repubblica di Genova, Genova, 7–10 giugno, 1988. Genoa 1989, 485–505; A.E. Laiou, Italy and the Italians in the political geography of the Byzantines (14th Century). *DOP* 49 (1995) 73–98.
104 A. Failler, Georges Pachymerès. Relations historiques. *CFHB*, 24. Paris 1999, 495.

> In June of the following year, the shipyard was burned by the Latins when a great battle took place.[105]

War is an important engine for the creation and diffusion of negative stereotypes and hatred for the perceived other, but Panaretos seems to have refrained from making these kinds of comments here. His attitude towards Christian peoples is generally more favorable than his attitude toward Muslims.[106] Trebizond was engaged in almost constant warfare with the Turks. The history of Trebizond from the late thirteenth century onward is characterized by conflict between the sedentary Trapezuntines and mobile Turkmen peoples who fought repeatedly for control of the Pontic Alps's idyllic pastureland.[107] But even then, despite the numerous battles which Panaretos and his master fought against the Turks, the chronicler adopted a fairly moderate attitude toward them. Throughout the chronicle, he avoids loaded terms such as 'barbarian' and generalized statements about how barbarians are wont to act, which other Byzantine authors favor. For example, compare Panaretos's report of the Matzoukans' victory over the Turks with that of his contemporary Andreas Libadenos:

Michael Panaretos

> Μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κγʹ, ἡμέρᾳ ϛʹ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδʹ, τοῦ ͵ϛωξθʹ ἔτους, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Παϊπερτίου κεφαλὴ Χοτζιαλατίφης, λαβὼν ἐπιλέκτους στρατιώτας ὡσεὶ υʹ καὶ πρός, εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὴν Ματζούκαν πρός τε τὴν Λαχαρανὴν καὶ Χασδένιχαν. Οἱ δέ γε Ματζουκαῖται προκαταλαβόντες τὰς διεξόδους ἔκτειναν ὡσεὶ σʹ Τούρκους καὶ πλείους ἁρπάσαντες καὶ ἄλογα καὶ ἅρματα πολλά, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Χοτζιαλατίφην καρατομοῦσι καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον θριαμβεύουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Τραπεζοῦνταν ὅλην.
>
> On Friday, July 23, indiction 14, 6869 (1361), the chieftain of Bayburt, *hoca* Latif, entered Matzouka near Lacharane and Chasdenicha with a select group of soldiers numbering around four hundred or more. But the people of Matzouka took control of the passes before his return, killed about two hundred Turks, and captured more of them, as well as many horses and arms. As for *hoca* Latif himself, they beheaded him and on the following day they carried their enemies' heads in triumph through all of Trebizond.[108]

Andreas Libadenos

105 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 78 (63 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 9.
106 Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above) 183.
107 A. Bryer, Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic exception. *DOP* 29 (1975) 113 – 148.
108 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 96 (73).

> τῶν γάρ τι τὸ πρὶν ὠμοτάτων βαρβάρων,
> σφόδρα σοβαρῶν, ἀγερώχων θηρίων
> σθένους σατραπῶν καὶ κραταιῶν ἐς μάχας,
> εἰς γῆν πεσόντων σὺν πανοπλίᾳ πάσῃ,
> κέχρωστο βῶλαξ τοῖς λύθροις τῶν αἱμάτων,
> καὶ γῆ πεπορφύρωτο πρὸς χρόαν ὅλην
> αἵμασιν αὐτῶν πασσυδὶ τετμημένων.
> Πέρσαι συνετρίβησαν ἐν στίφει βέλους,
> ἅμα σατράπαις καὶ κακὸς Ὁλατούφης…

> What remains of the previously most savage barbarians, who were so pompous, the proud beasts, the strength of the satraps and mighty has now fallen to the ground with all its panoply, and the earth has been drenched with their blood, the land's color has entirely turned red with the blood of those who were completely cut down. The Persians were shattered under a barrage of missiles along with their satraps and the wicked Oulatouphes (*hoca* Latif) …[109]

Admittedly, it is not entirely fair to compare the two, as Libadenos's choice of genre allowed greater rhetorical and poetic license. But throughout his chronicle, Panaretos avoids even religiously charged language such as ἀσεβής ('impious') and ἄθεος ('godless') commonly applied to the Turks in late Byzantine chronicles such as George Sphrantzes and the short chronicles.[110]

Panaretos was not unbothered by Turkish violence. Throughout his chronicle, he reports on what many Byzantines would have considered typical barbarian behavior. Raids, fire, and destruction abound. Panaretos mentions a Turkish raid at the end of the thirteenth century intended "to render all the lands inhospitable."[111] Barbarian treachery also has a place in the chronicle. In 1369, "Golacha was treacherously seized by the Turks. For this reason, Chaldia was obliterated, some of its people dying in battle, others in the treacherous cave there."[112] Vast barbarian hordes are defeated by a few good men. As an example, one might cite Panaretos's inclusion of the 1370 incident cited above during which Alexios defeated 800 men with only a handful of men.

Panaretos's view of the Turks was no doubt shaded by his face-to-face cordial interactions with them. Following previous Trapezuntine precedent, Alexios III frequently intermarried with the Turks. On a few occasions, his Turkish in-

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109 Lampsides, Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ βίος καὶ ἔργα (as footnote 79 above) 111 ll. 82 – 90.
110 Ş. Kılıç, Ottoman perception in the Byzantine short chronicles. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 32 (53) (2013) 111 – 135. For Sphrantzes, see Maisano, Cronaca (as footnote 2 above) 226.
111 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 76 – 78 (63 L).
112 Ibid. 102 (77 L); Kennedy, Two Works (as footnote 14 above) 45.

laws visited Trebizond and were even the recipients of state visits from Alexios III. Panaretos himself accompanied the emperor on state visits with Alexios's brother-in-laws, the hacı emir (whose titles but not personal name survive) and Kutlu beğ of the Turkmen Akkoyunlu federation.[113] At the end of one visit by Kutlu beğ in 1365, Panaretos even reports that the Turkmen emir "left peacefully, having received great honors."[114] Panaretos's verbiage here is rather pointed, as he frequently closes his descriptions of Turkmen attacks on the city (including an Akkoyunlu attack some thirty years prior) with the Turkmen departing "ashamed and empty-handed."[115] Now things are reversed; peace replaces war, honors take the place of dishonor and plunder. In contrast with other Turkish interactions with the city that ended in violence, the inclusion of this event demonstrated the feasibility of peaceful Byzantine-Turkish interactions. It seems that Panaretos preferred to handle the Turks as separate groups rather than as a collective stereotypical 'other', reporting the good and the bad of their interactions with the empire. In this respect, he seems to have been following the official line of Alexios's government. For example, the emperor's chrysobull for the Soumela monastery from 1364 instructs the abbot to establish a garrison in case the "inimically disposed Hagarenes" should attack. Of concern here were the emperor's Turkish enemies, not his allies. The document (like Panaretos) abstains from labeling the Turks barbarians or dehumanizing them. The only wild beasts (θῆρες ἄγριοι) that attack the monastery in this text are tax collectors.[116] Panaretos is somewhat unique among Byzantine commentators on the Turks in this regard. He is more likely to treat the Turks as human beings rather than reduce them to a negative stereotype.[117] His treatment of the Turks resembles that of Byzantines after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 such as Laonikos Chalkokondyles or George Scholarios, who treated their conquerors not as impious infidels or animals, but human beings with good and bad qualities.[118]

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113 Ibid. 96 (73–74 L) for hacı emir; 98, 100 (75, 76 L) for Kutlu beğ.
114 Ibid.100 (76 L).
115 Ibid. 78, 84. 96 (64, 66, 74, respectively).
116 Miklosich / Müller, Acta V (as footnote 25 above) m280, 278, respectively.
117 On Byzantine perceptions of the Turks, see N. Oikonomidès, The Turks in the Byzantine rhetoric of the twelfth century, in C. Farah (ed.), Decision making and change in the Ottoman Empire. Kirksville, MO 1993, 149–155; I. Smarnakis, Rethinking Roman identity after the Fall (1453): perceptions of 'Romanitas' by Doukas and Sphrantzes. *Byzantina Symmeikta* 25 (2016) 211–234.
118 K. Moustakas, Byzantine "visions" of the Ottoman Empire. Theories of Ottoman legitimacy by Byzantine scholars after the Fall of Constantinople, in A. Lymperopoulou (ed.), Images of the Byzantine world: visions, messages, and meanings. Studies presented to Leslie Brubaker. Bur-

Nonetheless, Panaretos's feelings toward the Turks were shaded by an acute awareness of the limitations of Trapezuntine power. Trebizond was a modest power. In 1367, Alexios would field 2000 men for show when he met Kutlu beğ and patrolled the summer pastures of Trebizond, but his regular field army hardly ever numbered more than a few hundred.[119] The chancery of the Mamluk sultanate considered Trebizond a third rate power, which lacked resources and was frequently defeated by its Turkmen enemies.[120] Over time, it gained a reputation for the ferocity of its men, who, though few in number, fought like "lions who never let their prey escape."[121] Perhaps, for this reason, Panaretos proudly notes whenever a few Trapezuntine soldiers defeat a large number of Turks.[122] But sometimes the chronicler's pride got the better of him. Recalling a state visit to Chalybia during which the emperor's brother-in-law hacı emir escorted Alexios III and his convoy back and forth between Kerasous and Chalybia, Panaretos comments that, "hacı emir and his Turks escorted us, almost as if they were our slaves (μικροῦ δεῖν δουλικῶς)."[123] No doubt, the Roman chronicler wistfully wished that the hacı emir's Turkmen really were the emperor's slaves. At the end of the thirteenth century, the Turkmen had seized Chalybia and raided much of the Trapezuntine coast. This moment, which Panaretos reports earlier in the chronicle, had imprinted itself on the collective conscience of Trapezuntines as a moment, when the empire had seemed in danger of imminent collapse until Alexios II had defeated the enemy and restored the empire.[124] Now only sixty years later, the illusion of these Turks' descendants submitting and acting the part of the emperor's personal bodyguard temporarily stirred the chronicler's Roman pride, even if the feeling could only have been fleeting.

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lington, VT 2011, 215 – 229; A. Kaldellis, A new Herodotos: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the fall of Byzantium, and the emergence of the West. Washington, D.C. 2014, chap. 4; M.-H. Blanchet, Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472): un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire Byzantin. Paris 2008, 107 – 110.

119 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 100 (76 L). On the Trapezuntine army, see Karpov, История (as footnote 3 above) 152 – 155.

120 H. Lammens, Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans Mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904) 179 – 80; Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 172 – 173.

121 É. Quatremère, Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar: voyages des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 13 (1838) 380.

122 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 102 (77 L), 108 (79 L).

123 Ibid. 96 (73 – 74 L).

124 Ibid. 76 (63 L); Rosenqvist, St. Eugenios (as footnote 38 above) 218. Later popular tradition moved this moment to the reign of Alexios III: Metaxopoulos, Η Θεία (as footnote 52 above) 41.

Another area where Panaretos's Trapezuntine pride temporarily shines through is in his description of Trapezuntine-Constantinopolitan relations. In general, Panaretos is reverential toward Constantinople as the ideological center of Romanity. Throughout his chronicle, he refers to the city as "blessed Constantinople," an epithet he reserves only for Trebizond.[125] When he visited the city in 1363 on state business, he tells us before listing all the individuals he saw there:

> Ἀπήλθαμεν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατέργου εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Πόλιν, ὅ τε μέγας λογοθέτης κῦρ Γεώργιος ὁ Σχολάρις καὶ ὁ πρωτοσεβαστὸς καὶ πρωτονοτάρις Μιχαὴλ ὁ Πανάρετος, ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, καὶ προσεκυνήσαμεν προσκυνήσεις φοβεράς· εἴδαμεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον…

> We, that is the grand *logothetes* lord George Scholaris and the *protosebastos* and *protonotarios* Michael Panaretos, who is writing this, went by imperial galley to Constantinople, and we paid our respects in fulsome homage. We saw the emperor lord John Palaiologos.[126]

Just the act of seeing Constantinople was enough to inspire reverence and awe in the chronicler. But in Panaretos's time, the relationship between the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi cannot have been easy. Constantinople had regarded the Trapezuntine state as a subordinate despotate since the late thirteenth century.[127] Its emperors frequently intervened during the Trapezuntine civil war (1340 – 1355), playing one candidate for the imperial throne off against the other. According to Alexios III's metropolitan of Trebizond, John Lazaropoulos, the emperor's own regime was one of these candidates, as the emperor John Kantakouzenos had given his blessing to the expedition that placed Alexios on the throne.[128] Once installed on the throne, Alexios III was eager to establish marriage alliances with first the Kantakouzenoi and, after 1354, the Palaiologoi, with whom Panaretos helped secure a marriage alliance between the children of Alexios III and John V Palaiologos (1354 – 1391).[129] However, from a Constantinopolitan perspective, Trebizond was not a friend, but a subordinate. Between 1364 and 1369, Demetrios Kydones would even remind his master John V Palaiologos (1354 – 1391) that "you have provided the rulers of Trebizond with their dominion

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125 Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 24.
126 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 39.
127 On Trapezuntine-Constantinopolitan relations, see Karpov, История (as footnote 3 above) 186 – 212.
128 Rosenqvist, St. Eugenios (as footnote 38 above) 338 – 340.
129 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 – 75).

as a reward for their friendship to you," as if the throne of Trebizond was Constantinople's to bestow.[130]

Ultimately, however, relations between the two soured in the 1370s and the proposed marriage alliance collapsed. In 1373, John V's son, Michael Palaiologos, would even launch an assault on Trebizond:

> Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ια΄, ἡμέρᾳ ϛ΄, τοῦ ͵ϛωπβ΄ ἔτους, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ^ης, ἦλθεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων κῦρ Ἰωάννου Παλαιολόγου υἱός, ὁ κῦρ Μιχαήλ, μετὰ δύο μεγάλων κατέργων καὶ ἑνὸς μικροτέρου κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν· καὶ σταθεὶς ἡμέρας ε΄ παλίνορσος γέγονε, μὴ ἀνύσας τι τῶν ἀδοκήτων, ὢν σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος κῦρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀνδρονικόπουλος· ὃς καί, ἀπελθὼν ὁ Παλαιολόγος, αὐτὸς ἐξῆλθε καὶ γέγονεν ὑπόσπονδος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν.
>
> On Saturday, November 11 of indiction 12, 6872 (1373), the son of the Roman emperor lord John V Palaiologos, lord Michael, came to attack our emperor with two large galleys and a smaller one. And after remaining here for five days, he beat a hasty retreat without accomplishing anything remarkable. The *protobestiarios*,[131] lord John Andronikopoulos, was with him and, when Palaiologos left, he came over and became our emperor's vassal.[132]

The only direct confrontation between a Palaiologos and a Grand Komnenos, the affair brought out Panaretos's local pride. The details of this affair are mostly lost beyond what can be recovered from a terse marginal entry in a brief chronicle of the Palaiologoi that records, "And his (i.e., Manuel II Palaiologos, r. 1391–1425) brother Michael, who went to Trebizond and did not take it, but returned home, became the son-in-law of the despot Dobrotitsa."[133] From Venetian documents, it seems that the Bulgarian despot of Karvuna, Dobrotitsa, a close ally of the Palaiologoi who possessed a small but effective fleet in the Black Sea, had claimed the Trapezuntine throne for his son-in-law. In 1376, the Venetians would even seriously consider replacing Alexios III with Michael in order to improve their commercial position at Trebizond.[134] Panaretos's selection of facts nonetheless shows the pride he felt that a Palaiologos's *protobestarios* abandoned his master

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130 *PG* 154, 963C.
131 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 98 (74 L): ἀπήλθαμεν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατέργου εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Πόλιν ... καὶ προσεκυνήσαμεν προσκυνήσεις φοβεράς.
132 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 104 (78 L); Kennedy, Two works (as footnote 14 above) 47.
133 P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. *CFHB*, 12. Vienna 1975, I 118 (Chron. 22.18).
134 Thiriet, Régestes (as footnote 13 above) vol. 1, 576. N. Jorga, Veneţia în Marea Neagră. *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice. Seria 2*, 36 (1913) 1058–62.

and pledged allegiance to the Grand Komnenos of Trebizond.[135] In this moment, the usual order of the world was reversed, and Trapezuntines could savor the fact that an official of one of their Constantinopolitan rivals had submitted before their emperor.

Conclusion: On the limitations of Panaretos as a source

A new image emerges of Panaretos as a chronicler. An imperial bureaucrat, his chronicle often aided him in his bureaucratic functions as the emperor's secretary, but Panaretos was also a discriminating researcher who sifted through oral, inscriptions, and written sources to reconstruct the history of his country. Panaretos proudly, but not uncritically supported his master Alexios III, but he was also aware of the limitations of Trebizond on the global stage. Like his master, Panaretos appreciated the importance of maintaining good relations with the Turks and is unique for his century in his willingness to abandon explicit negative stereotypes of them so common in other sources of the period.

However, taken as a whole, Panaretos's construction of his chronicle raises other more important questions about his value as a source. The chronicle's lack of literary adornment, matter-of-fact reporting, and use of precise dates have encouraged scholars to trust Panaretos as a reliable witness.[136] Nonetheless, Panaretos' style may create an illusion of trustworthiness and has perhaps prevented us from asking the important historiographical question: how or why did Panaretos select events for inclusion in his chronicle? Throughout this study, I have illuminated some of the variety of reasons why Panaretos included material: work, diplomacy, pride, shame, etc. But Panaretos's selection of material has implications besides simply illuminating his life and personality; it has also skewed our image of Trebizond, as modern historians have often treated him as our ultimate authority for this region. As an extended illustration of this point, consider how modern scholars have handled the 1380's, the last decade

135 V. Laurent, Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trebizonde Alexis IV – Jean IV et David II. *Archeion Pontou* 18 (1953) 263, records the donation of property which formerly belonged to the protostrator Andronikopoulos. Presumably, it refers to this Andronikopoulos or his descendants.

136 Lampsides, Τινὰ (as footnote 3 above) 52 – 54; Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 24 – 29; Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 199 – 200; Asp-Talwar, Chronicle (as footnote 3 above) 173.

of Alexios III's reign. For the period 1380 – 1389, Panaretos includes four events. In general, his treatment of earlier decades starting from the 1340's is much fuller, becoming sparser from the 1370's onward, as illustrated in the table below:

Decade	Number of events reported	Percentage change
1340 – 49	16	NA
1350 – 59	24	+50%
1360 – 69	21	–14%
1370 – 79	7	–66%
1380 – 89	4	–42%

Noting the lack of entries in the 1380's, historians of Trebizond have assumed that the lack of entries is due to a lack of material to report. For example, Alexios Sabbides, the author of the one of the most important recent histories of Trebizond, assumes that this decade was quieter for Alexios III because of the lack of entries.[137] Similarly, Rustam Shukurov has also suggested that Alexios III's marriage alliances with local Turkish emirs had finally yielded results during this decade, resulting in more peaceful frontiers and thus a lack of entries.[138]

But in truth, the 1380's offered their fair share of challenges and obstacles to Alexios' regime, which Panaretos should have documented, were he following the same patterns he exhibits earlier in the chronicle. For instance, the death of Alexios's son-in-law, the Turkish emir Taccedin, in October 1386 freed the emperor's daughter Eudokia.[139] She probably returned home to Trebizond relatively soon after his death. If Panaretos were following the same patterns as previously, he probably would have noted her return, as he elsewhere reports on the visits of Trebizond's imperial women married to Turkish princes to the city.[140] However, the princess was not single for long, as we learn from Laonikos Chalkokondyles that the emperor John V (1354 – 1391) originally meant to marry her to his son Manuel II Palaiologos (1391 – 1425), but was enamored with the princess and kept her for himself.[141] Scholars have disputed Chalkokondyles' gossipy story, arguing that she actually married Konstantin Dragaš, the grandfather of the emper-

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137 Sabbides, Ιστορία (as footnote 3 above) 130 – 131.
138 R. Shukurov, Between peace and hostility: Trebizond and the Pontic Turkish periphery in the fourteenth century. *MHR* 9 (1994) 39; Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 215 – 216.
139 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 108 (80 L).
140 Ibid., 94 (72 L), 100 (76 L).
141 Darkó, Laonici (as footnote 72 above) vol. 1, 75 – 76.

ors John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1449) and Constantine XI (1449–1453).[142] But nonetheless, this alliance would have required negotiations. Panaretos is very conscious about noting when ambassadors were sent to arrange marriages with the Byzantine emperor. He himself had served as Alexios III's ambassador to the court of John V in 1363 and 1368, arranging a marriage of John V's son and Alexios III's daughter that never took place.[143] It is therefore reasonable to suggest that Panaretos who knew John V personally could have been expected to serve his master once more and arrange a marriage alliance between Eudokia Komnene and the Palaiologoi, or, at least, he would have at least recorded the dispatch of the emperor's envoys or the princess to Constantinople.

Throughout earlier decades, Panaretos frequently records Alexios III's movements whether the emperor was touring his realm or marching against his enemies. But after 1382, there is not a single note about his movements until we hear of his death in 1390. It is hard to believe that the emperor stopped campaigning and traveling throughout his empire from 1382–1390 when he was only a middle-aged man of forty-three to fifty years old.[144] Nor is it believable that the Turks stopped menacing the empire. There is reason to believe that the 1380's were far more unsettled than the meager entries in Panaretos let on. For example, the Çepni, a Turkman tribe, whom Alexios III had attempted to expel from the Philabonites river valley in 1380, remained a thorn in the emperor's side.[145] When the Spanish ambassador to Timor, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, passed through the empire of Trebizond in 1403, he records that they menaced the empire's southern frontier beyond the modern Torul, not too far from where they had been in 1380.[146] Alexios and his government never seem to have found a way to subdue the tribe with a marriage alliance.

Similarly, there were other developments afoot beyond the empire's limits. From 1381 onward, the emir of Erzincan, Mutaherten (1379–1403), began subduing the minor emirates surrounding the empire.[147] It is difficult to believe that the emir's activities did not drive some tribes to seek refuge in the Pontic Alps, caus-

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142 R. J. Loenertz, Une erreur singulière de Laonic Chalcocandyle : le prétendu second mariage de Jean V Paléologue. *REB* 15 (1957) 176–184.

143 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 88, 94, 96, 98, 102 (69, 72, 73, 74, 76, respectively).

144 The emperor was born in 1338: Ibid., 80 (65 L).

145 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 106–108 (79 L).

146 F. López Estrada, Ruy González de Clavijo, La embajada a Tamorlán. Madrid 1943, 79–84.

147 E. A. Zachariadou, Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402), Romania and the Turks. London 1985, III.350–351; Shukurov, Between peace (as footnote 137 above) 36–37.

ing trouble for the empire. Similarly, one must wonder whether Mutaherten himself did not attack the empire. Previous emirs of Erzincan had made attempts on Trebizond and by 1403, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo reports that the late Mutaherten was married to a daughter of Alexios III.[148] We know that Alexios' marriage alliances with his enemies generally were arranged when a tribe or emir had attacked the empire multiple times or seized key territory. For example, the emperor's son-in-law Taccedin obtained a Trapezuntine princess only after he had seized Limnia at the empire's western frontier, trading the region for his bride.[149] Therefore, it seems possible that Mutaherten may have attacked the empire during this decade and received a Trapezuntine princess to prevent further incursions. An attack on Trebizond seems even more likely, as multiple sources report that the emir exacted tribute (*kharaj*) from the emperor of Trebizond.[150] Besides Mutaherten, Alexios III's alliance with the Hacıomaroğulları emirate also deteriorated after 1386. We know that the emperor's nephew Süleyman was attacking the empire's western provinces in the 1390's, seizing the key city of Kerasous (modern Giresun).[151]

Therefore, it seems unreasonable to suggest that the empire was at peace during this era, as evidenced by Panaretos' lack of entries. For some reason, Panaretos's inclusion of events during this decade diminished. This is speculation based on the silence of our source, but my general argument stands. Panaretos was a selective chronicler and chose to write about what he found useful or significant or what might redound to the glory of his master. When historians approach his chronicle, it is important to consider his selectivity and remember that he is not a representative sample of everything that happened in Trebizond during the mid to late fourteenth century. He omits important events, which he might otherwise have mentioned, had some unknown factor not altered his historiographical approach. Perhaps he retired from public life or lost his court position and lost access to the kind of information he had previously. But when scholars ignore Panaretos as a historiographer and treat him as the measuring stick for this era and region, we lose the opportunity to recover from his silences a more balanced picture of the era.

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148 López Estrada, Ruy González (as footnote 145 above) 92.
149 Shukurov / Karpov / Kryukov, Панарет (as footnote 1 above) 106 (79 L); Lampsides, Μιχαὴλ (as footnote 1 above) 79.
150 Shukurov, Between peace (as footnote 137 above) 39; Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 215.
151 Shukurov, Between peace (as footnote 137 above) 44; Shukurov, Великие Комнины (as footnote 3 above) 220–221.

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Between conservation and restoration: the wall paintings in the church of the Crusaders in Abu Gosh and the authentication of the site as Emmaus

With plates XII–XVIII

Abstract: The wall paintings in the Crusader church in Abu Gosh were conserved and restored in two different operations in the last thirty years. While the conservation revealed new iconographies of the original wall paintings, the restoration added and changed details. The discernment between the two allows us once again to discuss the meaning of the original Crusader decoration program as a whole. This article argues that the frescoes decorating the church reference a set of prominent sacred places in the Holy Land, and suggests an interpretation of the murals in regard to the holy place to which it is linked and to the edifice it adorns.

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Introduction

The Resurrection Church in Abu Gosh was built in the 1140s by the Knights Hospitaller as a memorial to the site where, according to their belief, Jesus, after his Resurrection, met two of his disciples, an event generally known as the meeting at Emmaus. In all probability, approximately thirty years after its construction, the church was adorned with murals. Until about twenty years ago, the pictorial program of the church was considered one of the most elaborate surviving dec-

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oration programs of the Crusader Kingdom.[1] The accuracy of this evaluation, however, may have been diminished by recent restoration works, which considerably changed the Crusader wall paintings, originally executed in the Comnenian style, the predominant Byzantine style of the period. At the same time, the conservation works carried out on the murals shortly before their restoration revealed some salient iconographical details of the original frescoes.

The Conservation and restoration projects, undertaken in the past three decades, have had a significant impact on the wall paintings as such and on our perceptions of their meaning, owing to the parts uncovered in the process. Yet, despite the potential importance of these endeavors to the overall understanding of the decoration program of the church, they have not been given sufficient scholarly attention, and their iconographical impact has not been studied at all.[2]

The present article explores the ways in which the outcome of the recent conservation and restoration efforts may benefit our understanding of the pictorial program of the Crusader's church in Abu Gosh. In what follows, the wall paintings are described and critically discussed in light to these interventions, with the view of distinguishing (when possible) between the original features revealed in the course of the conservation works and the later additions by the restorers. The object is to form a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the entire decoration program and to reassess its significance.

The murals: their description, conservation and restoration

The conservation and restoration works that took place during the 1990s and the early 2000s had been pending for many decades. When, in 1901, the Benedictines settled in the monastery they had built adjoining the church in Abu Gosh, it became clear that the wall paintings had severely deteriorated since their creation in the 1170's and were in dire condition.[3] This is not surprising,

1 J. Folda, The art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098 – 1187. Cambridge 1995, 383, 389.
2 See E. Grabiner, L'iconographie du faux marbre, le cas d'Abou Gosh. *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007) 137 – 142; A. Virdis, Le absidi di Abu Gosh. Pittura murale in Terrasanra Nel XII Secolo. *Itinerando: Senza Confini dalla Preistoria ad Oggi* 1 (2015) 545 – 560; G. Fishhof, Hospitaller patronage and the mural cycle of the church of the resurrection at Abu-Ghosh (Emmaus) – a new reading. *The Military Orders* 6 (2017) 81 – 93.
3 Regarding the state of the wall paintings prior to conservation, See T.S.R. Boase, Ecclesiastical art in the Crusader states in Palestine and Syria, in H.W. Hazard (ed.), The art and archi-

as the church was probably abandoned only a few decades afterwards due to the political turmoil in the Crusader kingdom, and subsequently neglected until the end of the 19th century.[4] During all that time, when not deserted, the building was used as a stable, a barn, or storage for salt.[5]

The monastery added to the church on the eastern side buttressed its apses, and as a consequence, the structure that houses the murals is very well preserved.[6] It consists of three aisles of equal length, each terminating in an apse on the eastern side. The nave is both higher and wider than the other aisles, and the middle apse is higher and wider than its counterparts. The basilica is divided into four bays by six square and bulky piers. In each of the bays, the thick walls contain high and narrow windows, one on each side of the bay, thus letting in the light from the outside. A large staircase in the western bay leads to a crypt, whose layout repeats on smaller scale that of the church above it.[7]

Unlike the building, the paintings adorning it have suffered from the ravages of time. The frescoes were poorly preserved, partly on account of vandalism and iconoclasm, but also due to abrasion caused by the evaporation of the water source in the crypt.[8]

Despite the fragmentary condition of the paintings, Gustav Kühnel plausibly assumed that originally they had covered only the apses and the two eastern

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tecture of the Crusader states. Madison 1977, 122 – 123; J. Folda, Painting and sculpture in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099 – 1291, in H.W. Hazard (ed.), The art and architecture of the Crusader states. Madison 1977, 260; Idem, Art (as footnote 1 above) 383; A. Weyl Carr, The mural paintings of Abu Ghosh and the patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land, in J. Folda (ed.), Crusader art in the twelfth century. Oxford 1982, 215; D. Pringle, The churches of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus. Cambridge 1993, Vol. 1, 13; G. Kühnel, Wall painting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Berlin 1988, 152.

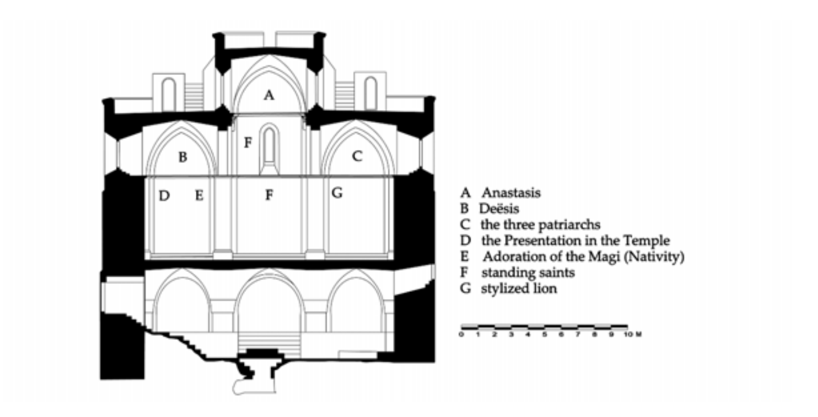
4 Pringle, Churches (as footnote 3 above) 8.

5 H. Goren, Early 20th century Christian institutions in Abu Gosh. *Cathedra* 62 (1991) 83, 88 (in Hebrew).

6 Ibid. 91 – 94.

7 Regarding the Crusader church in Abu Gosh, see M. De Vogüé, Les églises de la Terre Sainte. Paris 1860, 340 – 344; C. Enlart, Les monuments des Croises dans le royaume de Jerusalem. Paris 1928, II 315 – 325; L.H. Vincent / E.M. Abel, Emmaüs: sa basilique et son histoire. Paris 1932, 386 – 393; R. De Vaux / A.M. Steve, Fouilles a Qaryet El-'Enab, Abu Gosh, Palestine. Paris 1950; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological researches in Palsetine during the years 1873 – 1874. Jerusalem 1971, 60 – 63; Pringle, Churches (as footnote 3 above) 7 – 17; E. Grabiner, Une église Croisée: Abou Gosh. *Le Monde de la Bible* 61 (1989) 27 – 30; Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 151 – 152.

8 See footnote 3 above; on the crypt, see A. De Piéllat, First letter to the general consul of France in Jerusalem, 16. 2. 1903, 1 – 10.



Plan 1. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh, cross-section. Look to the east (based on Piéllat). A = Anastasis, B = Deesis, C = the three patriarchs, D = the Presentation in the Temple, E = Adoration of the Magi (Nativitiy), F = stanbding saints, G = stylized lion.

bays of the church [plans 1–3].[9] Most of the scenes depicted, although partial, were still discernible even before the conservation, and a typical scholarly description of the decoration program ran as follows: On the central apse, the Anastasis on the vault, atop three lines of standing saints; on the vault of the south apse the three patriarchs, and below a medallion with a stylized lion; the Deësis adorns the north apse's vault; the walls of the second bay to the east are decorated with the Koimesis and the Journey of the Apostles on clouds in the north and the Crucifixion in the south; icons of saints appear on the walls of the eastern bay in two mirror-like triptychs: a central military saint, one of whom Saint George, flanked by two frontal saints.[10]

The first to express interest in this decoration program was Count Marie Paul Amédée de Piéllat, a prominent French activist in the Holy Land Christian landscape at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. As part of his

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9 KÜHNEL, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 173–174; the wall paintings in the crypt have almost completely vanished, and there is no evidence to narrative or figural images. They have not been restored.

10 For an extensive reading on the wall paintings, see especially KÜHNEL, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 149–180; See also C. DIEHL, Les fresques de l'église d'Abou-Gosch. *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 68e Année* 2 (1924) 89–96; WEYL CARR, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 215–234; B. KÜHNEL, Crusader art in the twelfth century: a geographical, an historical, or an art historical notion? Berlin 1994, 52–54; FOLDA, Art (as footnote 1 above) 382–390; FISHHOF, Hospitaller patronage (as footnote 2 above) 81–93.

involvement in the renovation of the Abu Gosh church at the turn of the 20th century, he replicated its wall paintings in watercolor on 24 large sheets of paper. Furthermore, he thoroughly and at length described them in his letters to the French consul in Jerusalem.[11]

Another elaborate and detailed description corresponding to the same decoration program is found in a book by the late Gustav Kühnel entitled *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1988). It contains an extensive and compelling study of the murals' iconographic plan, which will be referred to and elaborated in what follows.[12] Kühnel's research attests to a precipitous deterioration of the frescoes, as the author occasionally relies on Piéllat for details that were no longer discernible.

While some endeavors to preserve the frescoes were undertaken as soon as the Benedictines settled at the site,[13] the first such professional attempts were made only in the 1990's. These were followed almost immediately by another project, focused on reconstructing rather than preserving the murals. Both operations were overviewed by architect Yves Boiret, the supervisor of the historical buildings on behalf of the French government. The different approaches behind these two campaigns dictated their aims and *modi operandi*, and accordingly led to different results. Throughout this article the two projects are referred to as "conservation" and "restoration", respectively, in line with their main agenda and practices.

The first project was led by Georg Maul and Peter Mirgartz, both from Cologne, and was mainly concerned with the conservation and preservation of the wall paintings.[14] The conservators employed only those measures that were "necessary", as they put it, to prevent the artwork from further deterioration, which – they claimed – required uncovering the wall paintings in full, without missing an inch. They first removed the adjacent plastering applied in the

11 A. De Piéllat, Second letter to the general consul of France in Jerusalem, 16. 2. 1903, 1–26; this letter has not yet been published. The letter and drawings are currently kept in the Benedictine abbey in Abu Gosh. I wish to thank frère Olivier for kindly granting me access to these valuable documents. On Piéllat, see Z. Shilony, The activity of Comte De Piéllat in Palestine (1884–1925). *Cathedra* 72 (1994) 63–90 (in Hebrew).

12 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 149–180, figs. 119–122, Pls. xxxviii–lxi.

13 Regarding the contribution of the Benedictines to the conservation efforts in the early 20th century, see Shilony, Activity (as footnote 11 above) 81; Pringle, Churches (as footnote 3 above) 8; Goren, Institutions (as footnote 5 above) 91–94.

14 The technical and scientific report of this project has not yet been published. The details mentioned here are based on correspondence with them from 2017. I wish to thank them for sharing this valuable information as well as their kind permission to publish photographs taken during their conservation project.

1930s that might have caused harmful tensions on the edges of the original paint. This was followed by the filling of the cracks and edges with soft lime mortar in order to stabilize the paint layer. Additionally, for aesthetic rather than technical reasons, they removed the sinter layer that covered the walls and partially hid the original paint. Crucially, however, some restoration, albeit very subtle and minimal, was carried out at the end, primarily based on Piéllat's water-paintings.[15]

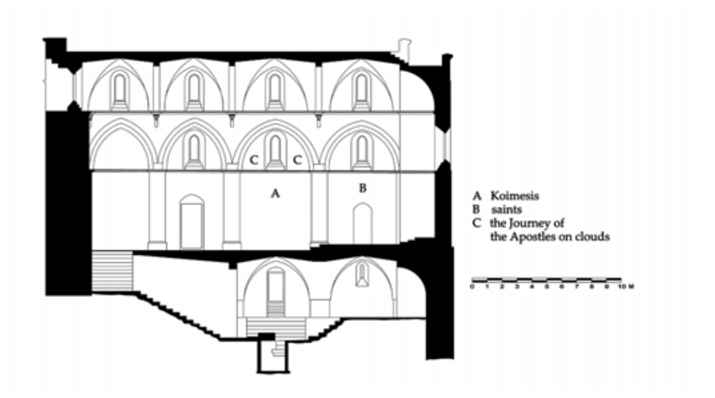
The second project, financed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was launched only a few years later, in 2000 – 2001, under the leadership of Isabelle Dangas from France.[16] In contrast to the previous campaign, its object was restoration, that is, to revive the artwork by interfering with the remaining authentic layers. To this end, and with the view of rendering the murals as similar as possible to the original artwork, they repainted images and added new details. This strategy was justified by appealing to the fragmentary state of the frescoes, which – as the restorers argued – precluded the viewers from discerning the images and thus also from gaining a coherent impression of the program as a whole. The restorers' aspiration was to reestablish the unity and contiguity of the paintings, by then lost.

In order to ensure that the reconstructed paintings accurately replicated the original, the restorers relied on Piéllat's watercolors, studies in art history (such as Kühnel's) and scientific reports regarding the conservation of the frescoes in question. Their treatment focused on enhancing ('mise en valeur') different elements and filling in the areas that had faded away. The precise technique in each given case depended on the size of the area being restored: The larger gaps were colored in *acqua sporca*, i.e. in a lighter tone than the original, whereas the smaller ones were repainted meticulously and in detail in *trattegio*, i.e. using fine, adjacent lines. Yet other, smaller lacunae were filled in with the color of the same shade as the original.

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15 In the words of the conservators: "In the eye of the beholder the overall impression of the result, for the before mentioned reasons, left a somewhat perturbed view of the now visible original artwork and was indeed esthetically distracting. In consequence it was agreed to continue and finish the campaign with a careful restoration, including subtle retouching to "soften" the general appearance without altering the clear perception of the original fragments of the wall paintings". correspondence with the conservators, 23. 8. 2017.

16 Two reports were published by the restorers: Y. Boiret / I. Dangas, Les fresques d'Abu-Gosh, Israël. *Monumental* (2002) 124 – 131; Y. Boiret, Récit d'une expérience: les fresques de l'église d'Abu Gosh. *La Sauvegarde de l'art Français* 16 (2003) 10 – 17.



Plan 2. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh, cross-section. Look to the north. (based on Piéllat). A = Koimesis, B = saints, C = the Journey of the Apostles on clouds.

The connection between any restored artwork and its original is complex,[17] and the case of the wall paintings in Abu Gosh is no different. Besides the usual array of broader questions related to ethics and aesthetics, the specific practices applied in the Abu Gosh church have given rise to some technical and iconographical issues. First, the boundary between the authentic and the repainted details is not always visually clear, even on close look, and the tonal distinction is not consistent, as is especially obvious when inspecting the Koimesis wall.

Second, while the value of Piéllat's drawings as the only visual documentation of the murals from the turn of the 20th century is unquestionable, it must be taken into account that their importance is mainly iconographical. The watercolors do not reflect the style of the wall paintings – their exact character, as it were – which renders them less than perfect as a visual source for restoration. The stylistic discrepancy is evident in several restored faces, particularly Mary's face on the Deësis in the north apse (**fig. 1**), and the faces of the women on the left to the crucifix on the south wall (**figs. 2–3**).[18]

Moreover, even as concerns iconography, it is important to keep in mind that Piéllat, himself, was not able to distinguish all the details, and represented the parts that were not clearly visible rather vaguely. What compounds the problem even more is that the restorers did not follow Piéllat's drawings in a consistent

17 See selected writings in N. S. Price / M. K. Talley Jr. / A. Melucco Vaccaro (eds.), Historical and philosophical issues in the conservation of cultural heritage. Los Angeles 1996.

18 On the characteristics of the Comnenian style in Abu Gosh, see Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 149–150, 161, 172–173, 179; Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 216–220; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 389–390.

manner.[19] They added elements and changed others based on no apparent reliable visual source or the artwork as such. This drawback is particularly apparent in the Koimesis scene. In the center, the conservators had uncovered several fragments representing Jesus along with a blue-and-white mandorla around his figure (**fig. 4**). Comparing these elements before and after restoration (**fig. 5**) reveals the later additions, such as the bejeweled crossed halo around Jesus' head and the details of the face and attire of the archangel on the right.

These and other additions and changes made by the restorers make it difficult to deduce the original version of the paintings. Yet, as the above example demonstrates, the restorers' efforts were largely concentrated on specific details rather than large scale scenes. While the changes they implemented affected the iconography and style of the murals, they did not impact the overall aspect or meaning of the scenes originally represented in them.

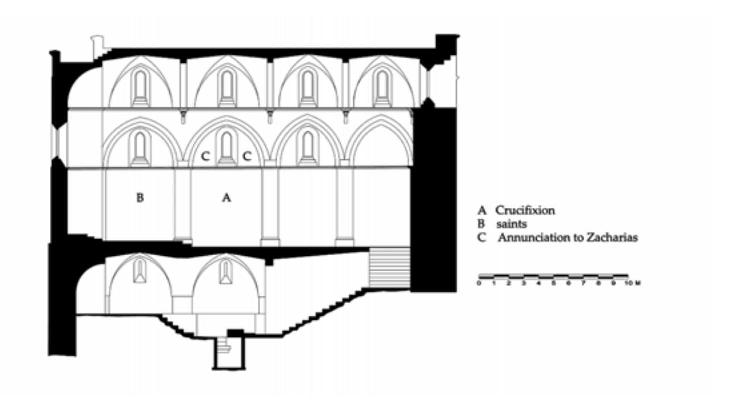
To be sure, the grounds for such an assertion become more tenuous when it comes to the parts of the wall paintings uncovered during the conservation project. Nevertheless, based on comparison with the existing records, however scarce, and other Byzantine and Crusader artifacts, this paper argues that the uncovered scenes, too, although restored, can be construed as a part of the original program. As is the case with the other frescoes, whose details might have been added or changed through retouching, the essential iconographical connotations of the revealed Abu Gosh murals can be considered unaffected. Accordingly, to the list of representations presented earlier, we may add the new post-conservation scenes: on the north apse, The Adoration of the Magi (**fig. 6**) and the Presentation in the Temple (**fig. 7**), and on the south wall the Annunciation to Zacharias in the lunette above the Crucifixion (**fig. 8**). Moreover, I will also make the case for the existence, already in the 12th century, of a Nativity scene in the north apse which originally incorporated the extant image of the Adoration of the Magi, and tentatively identify two frontal saints as female, one of them possibly representing Saint Catherine.

Iconographic innovations in the decoration program

Let us now describe the newly identified scenes and establish their authenticity. As the paintings presenting them underwent heavy restoration, it is important to establish their iconography through a comparative analysis. The main sources

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19 See for example: Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 162 – 163 note 73.



Plan 3. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh, cross-section. Look to the south. (based on Piéllat). A = Crucifixion, B = saints, C = Annunciation to Zacharias

for reference are Piéllat and Kühnel, as well as photographs taken by the conservators in the 1990s. As shown below, these three mutually complementary documentations help reveal details added in the course of the restoration works.

The smallest, albeit likely the most significant fresco revealed by the conservators, represents the Adoration of the Magi (Epiphany) (**fig. 6**). Remains of this scene were uncovered in the upper part of the north apse, below the Deësis [plan 1/E]. The image, based on Matthew's Gospel (2:1–12), shows the three Magi standing in a row, their faces partly turned in the direction of the apse's center. They are splendidly attired, each in a garment of a different color, and wearing a crown. The first Magus is bearded, while the two others are not. On the left of the group is a winged angel, dressed in white, gazing at them. On the right and at the top, the figures are framed with a red stripe.

This image was documented by both Piéllat and Kühnel, but neither of them seems to have perceived its meaning. Piéllat's sketch of the fresco (**fig. 9**) is relatively small, possibly because he had not been able to interpret it.[20] Kühnel's mention of the same image refers only to the angel, indicating that he had not understood the context either.[21] Still, both these documentations are reliable and leave no doubt as to the authenticity of the image, notwithstanding the obvious additions to the Magi's clothes and faces implemented during restoration.

20 This detail has not received the attention of scholars. On the other side of the sheet are drawings of the disciples and angels on clouds from the Koimesis, as well as different patterns and measurements.

21 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 158.

The Adoration scene is dwarfed by the monumental figures to its left, representing the Presentation in the Temple (Hypapante), which will be described in due course. Kühnel's misgivings regarding the context of these two scenes partly arose from the fact that they were adjacent yet dramatically different in scale. Ascertaining their meaning, however, does not seem to shed light on this discrepancy. Important in this connection, however, is that below and to the left of the Adoration scene, some faint color can be detected, pointing to the possibility that the original scene may, in the past, have been larger than is currently visible.

It thus stands to reason that, originally, the Adoration in Abu Gosh was not represented as an independent episode, but rather as part of a broader Nativity scene, now lost. Below, I will validate this conjecture by appealing to the iconographical trends of the second half of the 12th century, which align with the size and placement of the Adoration image in the Abu Gosh basilica. Construing the Adoration as part of a larger Nativity scene explains not only the discrepancy in scale between the two adjacent images (Presentation and Adoration), but also broadens our understanding of the decoration program as a whole.

In order to demonstrate this hypothesis, it is necessary to explain the changes in the relationship between the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in Byzantine art as a whole. In the early Christian art, these two biblical episodes from Christ's childhood were depicted separately and displayed only the core personages.[22] This relationship changed in the wake of the 8th and 9th century Iconoclasm: whereas in the pre-iconoclastic tradition the two scenes figured as consecutive events in the story of Christ's childhood, the post-iconoclastic art emphasized their liturgical and calendrical meaning. Concomitantly, the narrative cycle of Christ's childhood was reduced to two images, each representing a feast, the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple. The image of the Adoration was thus incorporated into the Nativity, which was now expanded. This transition in the iconographical tradition was gradual, and in the 10th and

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22 Regarding the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi in early Christian art, see L. Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo: les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture Byzantine du XIIe siècle. Bruxelles 1976, 111–112; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconography of the infancy of Christ, in P. Underwood (ed.), The Kariye Djami. Princeton 1975, IV 197–198, 208, 220–221; idem, Les représentations de la Nativité du Christ dans l'art de l'orient chrétien. *Miscellanea Codicologica* 1 (1979) 12–14; G. Schiller, Iconography of christian art. London 1971–1972, Vol. I, 100–105.

11th centuries, in certain areas (such as Cappadocia), the Adoration was sometimes still pictured separately.[23]

During the 12th century, however, the new tradition had become firmly entrenched. At that time, most of Byzantine monumental Nativity scenes decorating churches included the Adoration as a constituent element. A well-known example is the church of Panagia tou Arakos in Lagoudera, Cyprus, decorated at the same time as the Abu Gosh basilica. The 1192 wall painting represents the Magi, their hands laden with offerings and extended towards the manger, with Mary seated at its center.[24] Other 12th century Nativity scenes with the same configuration are found in Perachorio, Cyprus; Panagia Evangelistria in Geraki, Greece; Hosios Stephanos in Kastoria, Greece; Saint George in Kurbinovo, Macedonia; and even in Deir Abu Maqar, Egypt.[25]

This iconographic innovation also characterized Crusader art in the Byzantine style, of which the most prominent example is located in the grotto under the sanctuary of the Nativity church in Bethlehem. The apse of the grotto was decorated with a mosaic depicting the Nativity, only some of whose fragments have been preserved. Yet these remnants, as well as pilgrims' descriptions of the mural as a whole, clearly attest that it used to represent the three Magi.[26] Other 12th century Crusader as well as local art displays the same tendency, in-

23 Regarding the iconography of the Nativity in the middle Byzantine period, see Schiller, Iconography (as footnote 22 above) 94–114, esp. 106; P. Wilhelm-Red, Geburt Christi. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* II (1970) 95–103; G. Ristow, Geburt Christi. *RbK* II (1971) 649–657; K. Wessel, Anbetung der Magier u. Hirten. *RbK* I (1966) 148–154; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconography (as footnote 22 above) 197–241, esp. 199–200, 222; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Représentations (as footnote 22 above) 11–21, esp. 15–16; Boase, Ecclesiastical art (as footnote 3 above) 120; Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 110, 117.

24 D. Winfield, The church of the Panaghia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, Cyprus: the paintings and their painterly significance. Washington 2003, 262–263; the wall paintings in Lagoudera had went through restoration as well. Ibid. 77–80, 262.

25 Regarding Perachorio, see J. Folda/P. French, Crusader frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle. *DOP* 36 (1982) 207 note 113; A. Stylianou/J. Stylianou, The painted churches of Cyprus: treasures of Byzantine art. London 1985, 334, 422; On Geraki, see P. Hetherington, Byzantine and medieval Greece: churches, castles, and art of the mainland and the Peloponnese. London 1991, 98; on Hosios Stephanos, see ibid. 110; S. Pelekanides/M. Chatzedakes, Καστοριά. Athens 1999, 6–21; on Kurbinovo, see Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 17–42, 109–111, 115, Plan 16–17 [24]; on Deir Abu Maqar, see J. Leroy, La peinture murale chez les Coptes. Le Caire 1976–1982, II 101–103.

26 Regarding the Nativity church, see Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 360, 371–378; idem, Crusader frescoes (as footnote 25 above) 207 note 114; the most elaborated pilgrim's description is of Joannes Phocas, see A. Stewart (trans.), The pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land (in the year 1185 A.D.). London 1896, 32–33.

cluding the Marqab Castle in Syria; Mar Sim'an in Saqqiyat El-Hait, Lebanon; and Sayyidat Haqlé in Bsarma, Lebanon.[27] The integration of the Adoration as part of the Nativity scene was also apparent in icons and manuscript illustrations of that period.[28]

The above discussion supports the assumption that the Abu Gosh Adoration was a part of an extensive Nativity scene, similar to other 12th century Byzantine and Crusader Nativity representations. This deduction appears even more plausible considering the large bare surface on the wall around the remaining figures, as well as the scale and placement of the scene, such that enough space is left for the other traditional components found in many contemporary representations. The most prominent of these is the image of Mary and the baby Christ in the manger, usually disproportionately large relative to the other figures. Some remnants of the manger in Abu Gosh are still visible today (**fig. 6**).[29]

The other images uncovered during the conservation works were retouched more extensively, which makes it more difficult to distinguish between original and added elements. This is especially the case in regard of the Presentation in the Temple scene, depicted in the north apse to the left of the Nativity (**fig. 7**, plan 1/D).[30] The image, based on the Gospel of Luke (2:22–39), features four of the biblical figures that are customarily represented: Mary, Symeon, Jo-

27 Regarding Marqab Castle, see Folda, Crusader frescoes (as footnote 25 above) 203–204, 207–208; E. Cruikshank Dodd, The frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: a study in medieval painting in Syria. Toronto 2001, 29 note 10; on Mar Sim'an, see idem, Medieval painting in the Lebanon. Wiesbaden 2004, 363–364, 369 Pl. 20.8; on Sayyidat Haqlé, see ibid. 395, 398 Pl. 25.6.

28 See, for example: R. Nelson/K. Collins, Holy image, hallowed ground: icons from Sinai. Los Angeles 2006, 170–171; J. Leroy, Les manuscrits Syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient. Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue Syriaque. Paris 1964, I 280, 282–283, 302, 304; II 76.

29 The manger alluded to in the remnants resembles other representations. See for example: Pelekanides/Chatzedakes, Καστοριά (as footnote 25 above) 16 fig. 10.

30 Regarding the iconography of the Presentation in the Temple, see Schiller, Iconography (as footnote 22 above) 90–94; Wessel, Darstellung Christi im Tempel. *RbK* I (1966) 1134–1145; Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 118–122; S. Boyd/R. Anderson/V. Jenssen/L. Majewski/A. Seltman, The church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus, and its wallpaintings. *DOP* 28 (1974) 294–296; D. Shorr, The iconographic development of the presentation in the temple. *The Art Bulletin* 28/1 (1946) 17–32; H. Maguire, The iconography of Symeon with the Christ child in Byzantine art. *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981) 261–269; idem, Art and eloquence in Byzantium. Princeton 1981, 87–90; Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconography (as footnote 22 above) 224–225.

seph and the baby Jesus. The first two figures are standing facing each other, Mary passing the baby Jesus to Symeon; behind Mary is Josef holding a caged dove. Just as the Adoration, before the conservation project this image was almost entirely obscured and therefore unidentifiable. Gustav Kühnel and Ann-Marie Weyl Carr both discerned remnants of halos at the top, and assumed therefrom that the fresco represented a row of monumental figures, possibly saints.[31]

In order to render the image coherent and comprehensible, it was subjected to extensive retouching. The changes thus introduced can be deduced from discrepancies between the elements in the fresco and other Byzantine portrayals of the Presentation scene. Thus, Josef is portrayed holding a cage containing only one dove instead of two, as stated in the Scripture and customarily depicted in Byzantine art.

A further divergence from other Byzantine depictions is evident in the interactions among the three main characters: Mary, Symeon and the baby Christ. Although very little can be seen of the latter's face and body, it is still clear that he is leaning towards Symeon and away from his mother. An arrangement of this kind does not align with most portrayals of the physical and emotional relationship between these characters dating back to the second half of the 12th century. Such representations usually depict the baby Jesus in the arms of Symeon, who is painted in a wide range of expressive and emotional postures and gestures.[32] The relationship conveyed in the Abu Gosh scene harks back to earlier traditions, suggesting that the image was modified at a later date, i.e., in the course of the restoration project.[33]

However, while heavily restored, the scene is clearly identifiable as the Presentation, based both on the attitudes of its figures, which corresponds to similar representations from that period, and on account of its adjacency to the Nativity,

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31 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 215; Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 158.

32 On the preference of such representations in the 12th century, see Maguire, Iconography (as footnote 30 above) 261–264; Idem, Art and eloquence (as footnote 30 above) 87–88; Shorr, Iconographic development (as footnote 30 above) 23–25; Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 120–122; Boyd, Panagia Amasgou (as footnote 30 above) 294–295 note 62; Wessel, Darstellung (as footnote 30 above) 1141; I. Sinkević, The church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: architecture, programme, patronage. Wiesbaden 2000, 49; regarding the tendency to highlight the emotional in the 12th century, see ibid.; Maguire, Iconography (as footnote 30 above) 261–264.

33 Although in 12th century western examples Mary sometimes holds the baby, the composition is more symmetrical with the altar in the middle. Shorr, Iconographic development (as footnote 30 above) 21–24.

these two images being strongly linked in the Byzantine feast cycle (Dodekaortion), as I already mentioned earlier.

The last scene added to the decoration program as a result of the works is the Annunciation to Zacharias, located above the Crucifixion on the south wall (**fig. 8**, plan 3/C). The two monumental figures of the composition are represented on both sides of the window in the center of a lunette: to the right is Zacharias, dressed as a priest in a red mantle fastened by a fibula, and swinging a small censer, a typical attribute of priests in Byzantine art; to the left is the angel, clad in blue and red, and gesturing the announcement of the future birth of Zacharias' child, John the Forerunner.

Just like the scenes elaborated earlier, this image had not been identified prior to the conservation and restoration treatments. The reason is that only the right figure, now established as Zacharias, was then discernible (**fig. 10**). Kühnel and Folda suggested, in rather general terms, that the figure might represent a biblical character or a saint.[34] Weyl Carr was the only researcher who ventured a specific hypothesis, probably based on the priestly attributes of the figure, that the representation was of Melchizedek, the king of Salem and priest mentioned in the 14th chapter of the book of Genesis. Accordingly, she assumed that the figure on the left, then invisible, was Abraham.[35]

Extant documentation regarding the right-side figure clearly shows that the changes introduced during restoration were minimal[36] and that its identification as Zacharias aligns with its attributes, especially upon comparison with other Byzantine representations of that character.[37] By contrast, the angel's figure to the left had never been observed or documented before restoration. Some of its remnants might have been preserved, but notwithstanding this possibility, it appears that large parts of the figure were recolored. The scene's composition, comprising two figures flanking the window, is akin to other Annunciation depictions,[38] validating its identification.

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34 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 166; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 383.

35 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 216.

36 Boiret, Fresques (as footnote 16 above) 131.

37 See for example the 12th century representation in grec. 64 BNF fol. 103r. Regarding the iconography of Zacharias, see G.J.M. van Loon, Priest and father, prophet and martyr: Zacharias, parent of Saint John the Baptist, in idem/M. Eaton-Krauss/C. Fluck (eds.), Egypt 1350 BC – AD 1800: art historical and archaeological studies for Gawdat Gabra. Wiesbaden 2011, 87 – 108, Pls. XIII–XIV; G. Kaster, Zacharias: Vater Johannes des Täufers. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* VIII (1976) 634 – 636; K. Wessel, Johannes Baptistes (Prodomos). *RbK* III (1978) 634 – 635.

38 Such as Leroy, Peinture murale (as footnote 25 above) 100 – 101, Pls. 61 – 64.

I will now set forth an argument in regard of possible identity of two of the six saints on the walls of the east bay. Of these, researchers have endeavored to identify only the two military saints. Piéllat was the first to hypothesize (and his assumption was later generally accepted) that one was Saint George, and accordingly identified the other as either Saint Demetrius or Saint Theodore.[39] The four frontal saints stationed on both their sides were not identified, due to the absence of a legible inscription or visible distinctive attributes. Yet, reexamining the figures after the conservation treatments enables us to point out certain details indicating their possible identity.

The rightmost figure on the north wall is attired in imperial clothes, a bejeweled loros and a crown, and judging by the absence of facial hair, it could represent a young man (**fig. 11**) – a description that may fit any youthful saint of imperial birth, such as King Solomon. This conjecture accords with Piéllat's designation of the figure as "Basileus" in one of his drawings (**fig. 12**) and a letter.[40] A bizarre detail that distinguishes the figure is an earring in its left earlobe.[41] All the above attributes had clearly been present before restoration,[42] although some retouching is apparent in the costume, crown and earring. While some male saints were represented in Byzantine murals wearing a single earring, for example Daniel, it usually indicated their oriental origins and was never painted in combination with Byzantine imperial costume.[43] The reason the figure in the Abu Gosh representation is wearing only one earring may be simply that the right side of the image has not survived. It is plausible to assume, then, that the earring marks the image as a female saint, and as I will now argue, specifically Saint Catherine.[44]

Saint Catherine of Alexandria was accorded an elevated status by the Crusaders, and appeared in a substantial number of Crusader icons.[45] In Byzantine

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39 Piéllat, Second letter (as footnote 11 above) 24, 26.
40 "... elle rappelle le basileus dans son vêtement d'apparat". Piéllat, ibid. 25; this probably led Weyl Carr incorrectly interpreting it as Saint "Basilius". Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 216.
41 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) Pl. LXI fig. 110.
42 Ibid. 173.
43 Winfield, Panaghia tou Arakos (as footnote 24 above) 135–136.
44 Saint Helen, mother of Constantine the Great, could have fitted the iconography as well. However, she is seldom portrayed independently from her son, and if so, only in Cyprus. A. Weyl Carr/A. Nicolaïdès, Asinou across time: studies in the architecture and murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus. Washington 2012, 240.
45 Regarding Saint Catherine, see Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 261–263; P. Assion, Katharina (Aikaterine) von Alexandrien. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonogra-*

art, she is usually portrayed as befits her royal origin, that is, as a young woman wearing a crown and dressed in sumptuous clothes. In most images, she is wearing a loros with thorakion and a pair of earrings, and holds the Martyr's Cross, as in a Sinai icon from the 11th century, for example.[46] This description also fits the frontal saint in Abu Gosh, and thus likely points to its identity as Saint Catherine.

The other three frontal saints cannot be identified with any degree of precision. Still, the rightmost figure on the south wall of icons is likely a female, judging by the green tunic and the red hooded chiton (**fig. 13**). The other two, both to the left of the central military saint, are clad in sumptuous imperial attire, like Saint Catherine, indicating their high social status.

In light of the above, it could be safe to hypothesize that the expanded decoration program we see today in the Abu Gosh Crusader church, although restored, was probably the one consecrated by the initial patrons. It comprises the Anastasis, three Patriarchs and Deësis in the three vaults of the three apses; the Nativity (with Adoration of the Magi) and Presentation in the Temple beneath the Deësis in the north apse; the Koimesis on the north wall of the second bay to the east; the Crucifixion and Annunciation to Zacharias on the south wall of the same bay; and the icons of saints on the walls of the east bay.

Rereading the Decoration Program

If our interpretation of the current decoration program in the Abu Gosh Crusader church is correct, we may now proceed to our main task of rereading the murals taking into account the "new" components. But first it is essential to understand whether the past interpretations of the decoration cycle are valid in light of the uncovered scenes.

To the extent that the decoration program in Abu Gosh was clearly not designed as a narrative sequence, and probably did not represent an Orthodox-Byzantine liturgical cycle either, scholars' interpretations diverge. Thus far, three main proposals have been cited, and they are elaborated in what follows. The first is by Annemarie Weyl Carr, who saw the Crusader ideology reflected mainly in the apses through the unconventional placement of familiar Byzantine iconography. Specifically, in her view, the adjacency of the Anastasis, expressing

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phie VII (1974) 289 – 297; regarding her popularity among the Crusaders, see K. Weitzmann, Icon painting in the Crusader kingdom. *DOP* 20 (1966) 72 – 73.

46 In Crusader icons she sometimes appears in *loros*, which is incorrect, as *loros* is a man's garment. Weitzmann, Icon painting (as footnote 45 above) 73. The state of preservation in Abu Gosh cannot attest to her attire as a whole.

the Crusader dominance in the Holy Land, and the scenes adopted from the Last Judgment, i.e., the Deësis and the Patriarchs, symbolize the promise of salvation.[47]

Kühnel extended Weyl Carr's interpretation to encompass the aisles, contending that theologically the Crucifixion leads to salvation, and the Koimesis represents the redemption of Mary's soul. His main contribution, however, was in establishing a link between the wall paintings and a *locus sanctus* (the holy site), in the case in point, Emmaus. The salvation promised to the Crusaders was to come by virtue of Christ's resurrection, which was believed to be associated with that site.[48] On Kühnel's theory, therefore, the decoration program of the church was dictated by its location at Emmaus, a theory that was later upheld by Bianca Kühnel (1994) and Jaroslav Folda (1995).[49]

A more recent, third suggestion belongs to Gil Fishhof. While acknowledging the act of restoration, which had been implemented only a decade before his investigations, Fishhof's hypothesis disregards the new additions, focusing instead on two scenes, the Anastasis and the Koimesis. Rather than reading into the program a salvation theme, as had his predecessors, Fishhof suggested that the paintings reflected certain political developments in the Crusader Kingdom at that time, specifically the Hospitaller patronage of the church and their rivalry with the Templars. Accordingly, he contended that the Resurrection was represented in the Abu Gosh basilica insofar as, on his view, it was an important event in the history of the Knights Hospitaller. The same rationale Fishhof posited regarding the figure of Mary, which he linked to the convent of the Order in Jerusalem.[50]

All the hypotheses cited above, however, lose some of their robustness in light of the new discoveries in the Abu Gosh decoration program. Although Weyl Carr's and Kühnel's interpretations are still plausible, they do not account for any of the new scenes, whose connection to salvation is less obvious. Thus, a new reading of the program as a whole is in order, one that would subsume all the frescoes in the church under a single coherent interpretation.

In this regard, I propose that each scene in the program alludes to a different holy place in the Holy Land, or more specifically to a representation of that scene in that place, sometimes in correlation with the holy site's orientation in the

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47 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 220 – 222.

48 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 173 – 177.

49 Kühnel, Crusader art (as footnote 10 above) 52 – 54; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 382 – 383, 388 – 390.

50 Fishhof, Hospitaller patronage (as footnote 2 above) 81 – 93.

commemorative decorated structure.[51] On this rationale, the entire decorative program references a set of holy sites in the Crusader Kingdom in the Holy Land.

Of all the scenes, this connection is most evident in the Anastasis (plan 1/A), which evokes the same scene originally portrayed on the mosaic located in the main apse of the Holy Sepulcher. Although this mosaic did not survive, it is described in John of Würzburg's and Theoderich's itineraries, both from the second half of the 12th century.[52] The link with the Holy Sepulcher is twofold: the Anastasis not only referenced the holiest place in the Christian world, but was also a subtle indication of the sacred episode sanctifying the Abu Gosh site, i. e., the meeting at Emmaus.[53]

The three patriarchs, depicted in the south apse (plan 1/C), may allude to Hebron, or St. Abraham's city, as the Crusaders named it. In 1169 the Cave of the Patriarchs came to function as a Cathedral and the Latin bishop's see. Although there is no evidence that the cave had ever been decorated, the connection can still be posited, on account of some of the uncommon features of the Abu Gosh image, namely its depiction independently of the Last Judgment, placement in an apse, and relatively large scale.[54]

The Nativity scene in the north apse (plan 1/E), of which only a fragment representing the Adoration of the Magi remains, as was argued earlier, links directly to the Nativity church in Bethlehem. As already mentioned, in the Bethlehem basilica a mosaic depicting the same scene adorned the grotto under the sanctuary. The mosaic was probably completed between 1167 and 1169.[55] The placement of the scene in Abu Gosh is uncommon, as the Nativity was usually

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51 Regarding the decoration of the holy places in the Crusader Kingdom, see Kühnel, Crusader art (as footnote 10 above); G. Kühnel, Crusader monumental painting and mosaic, in S. Rozenberg (ed.), Knights of the Holy Land: the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. Jerusalem 1999, 171–181 (in Hebrew).

52 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 229–233; A. Stewart (trans.), Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg. London 1896, 37.

53 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 155, 175–177; Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 221; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 389 note 198.

54 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 157; regarding the Cathedral in Hebron, see Enlart, Monuments (as footnote 7 above) 124–133; I. Shagrir, The pilgrim in the holy city: a little-known twelfth century guide to the holy places. *Cathedra* 138 (2010) 69–72 (in Hebrew); Y. Katzir, Structure of the Latin church and its position in Crusader Jerusalem, in J. Prawer/H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), The history of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099–1250). Jerusalem 1991, 169–170 (in Hebrew).

55 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 371–378; see also footnote 26 above.

portrayed on the southern walls of Byzantine churches.[56] Possibly, the arrangement in Abu Gosh was dictated by the geographical relations between Hebron and Bethlehem, as scholars previously assumed regarding the image in the main apse of the Bethlehem church: In the middle are Mary and the child Christ, with Abraham on their right and King David on the left. These representations could be associated with Bethlehem, Hebron and Jerusalem, respectively, hence constituting pilgrimage iconography.[57]

The Presentation in the Temple, depicted to the left of the Nativity (plan 1/D), could be construed as a reference to *Templum Domini*, or the Dome of the Rock. That site was sanctified only in the 12th century, but almost at once became one of the most important pilgrimage destinations in the Crusader Kingdom.[58] The testimonies of Theoderich and John Phocas from the second half of the 12th century show that a chapel dedicated to the Presentation was located immediately to the left of the entrance to the Dome of the Rock church. Furthermore, a Presentation fresco was located at the entry to the chapel.[59]

Above the scenes of Nativity and Presentation in the Abu Gosh basilica is the Deësis (plan 1/B). This representative image does not seem to correlate with any specific site in the Holy Land, as it appears in Crusader basilicas in a variety of locations.[60] Regarding its placement in Abu Gosh, Weyl Carr and Kühnel plausibly assumed a thematic and compositional parallel with the southern apse. Furthermore, the positioning of the scene just above the Nativity may allude to a

56 See for example: Hadermann-Misguich, Kurbinovo (as footnote 22 above) 109, 118, Plan: 16 – 17 [24] [25]; Pelekanides/Chatzedakes, Καστοριά (as footnote 25 above) 24 – 25, [36], [37]; Boyd, Panagia Amasgou (as footnote 30 above) 294 – 296.
57 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 362 – 363.
58 Ibid. 253; B. Z. Kedar/D. Pringle, 1099 – 1187: The lord's temple (Templum Domini) and Solomon's palace (Palatium Salomonis) under Frankish rule, in Oleg Grabar (ed.), Where heaven and earth meet: Jerusalem's sacred esplanade. Jerusalem 2009, 133 – 155; Shagrir, Pilgrim (as footnote 54 above) 74.
59 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 252 – 253; A. Stewart (trans.), Theoderich's description of the holy places (circa 1172 a.d.). London 1896, 27; The pilgrimage (as footnote 26 above) 20; A representation of the scene appeared also in the basilica, but only the inscription has survived. Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 357 – 358.
60 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 221 note 51; A. Heyman, Un reto para el "Taller de Melisenda": la decoracion de Santa Maria en el valle de Josafat y el proyecto monumental de la Jerusalen Cruzada, in Manuel Castiñeiras (ed.), Entre la letra y el pincel: el artista medieval. Spain 2017, 263 – 278.

similar configuration in the Bethlehem Nativity church, between the grotto and the Deësis chapel above it.[61]

The Koimesis fresco on the north wall (plan 2/A) may resonate with two important holy places that are part of the same narrative: the Dormition church on Mount Zion and Mary's tomb in the Jehoshaphat Valley,[62] both these sites containing representations of the same scene. According to Theoderich, in the Mount Zion church an image of the Koimesis was positioned above the staircase leading to the crypt,[63] while in the Valley of Jehoshaphat a wall painting of this episode could be seen in the crypt of Mary's tomb. Interestingly, Theoderich described the latter image as containing the same unusual feature as in the Abu Gosh church – a large group of angels surrounding Christ forming a celestial guard.[64] In Abu Gosh, the placement of the scene on the north wall, in contradiction with its traditional positioning on the west wall, might reference the memorial aedicule of the Mount Zion church, which was located to left of the entrance, according to the account of John Phocas.[65]

Right across from the Koimesis is the Crucifixion (plan 3/A), presumably in parallel to the Golgotha Chapel and the Chapel of the Finding of the True Cross, both in the Holy Sepulcher. A mosaic of the Crucifixion was placed on the east wall of the Golgotha Chapel, as mentioned by Daniel (1106 – 1108), John of Würzburg and Theoderich in the accounts of their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. A fresco executed in the 12th century and located in a cave in the Chapel of the Cross, displays the same iconography, and the remains of the scene are still discernible (**fig. 14**).[66] In Abu Gosh, the placement of the Crucifixion on the south wall to the right of the Anastasis in the main apse is akin to the relation between the Golgotha chapel and the Crusader Holy Sepulcher and tomb, when looking east.

The chapel in *Templum Domini*, which was linked, in the discussion above, to the Presentation scene in Abu Gosh, may also be referenced by the Annunci-

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61 Regarding the Deësis chapel, see Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 165 – 166; Boase, Ecclesiastical art (as footnote 3 above) 123 note 9, 256 – 257; B. Bagatti, Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme. Jerusalem 1952, 74 – 79.

62 O. Limor, Mary in Jerusalem: an imaginary map, in B. Kühnel/G. Noga-Banai/H. Vorholt (eds.), Visual constructs of Jerusalem. Turnhout 2014, 15 – 17.

63 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 160 note 56; Idem, Crusader monumental painting (as footnote 51 above) 172; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 253; Enlart, Monuments (as footnote 7 above) 244 – 247; Theoderich's description (as footnote 59 above) 36.

64 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 218, 226 note 24; Theoderich's description (as footnote 59 above) 38 – 39.

65 Boase, Ecclesiastical art (as footnote 3 above) 95 – 96; The pilgrimage (as footnote 26 above) 17 – 18.

66 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 233 – 240.

ation to Zacharias, which is portrayed above the Crucifixion in Abu Gosh (plan 3/C). The grounds for this hypothesis is that the chapel was believed to mark the putative site of the biblical event (the Annunciation to Zacharias), which was pictured on one of its walls.[67] Such a connection sheds light on the inclusion of the Annunciation to Zacharias in the decorative program of the Abu Gosh church in spite of a lack of any thematic or narrative associations linking it to the rest of the scenes.

The link posited here between the Annunciation to Zacharias in Abu Gosh and the chapel on the left of the *Templum Domini* could also account for the placement of this scene in the lunette of the south wall. In this respect, it is important to note that the Abu Gosh decorative program displays arresting symmetry in composition, e. g., in the south and north apses, as well as in subject, e. g., the Koimesis and Crucifixion, both representing death and redemption. It stands to reason that such an arrangement could have been achieved only by means of thorough and meticulous planning. Still, the Annunciation to Zacharias and the scene facing it, the Journey of the Apostles (plan 2/C), are not connected through either composition or theme. Rather, they could be associated with the same place, the *Confessio Chapel* adjoining the Dome of the Rock on Temple Mount. Pilgrims have sometimes referred to this chapel as “the Crypt of the Apostles” or “the Confession of the Apostles” (*Confessio apostolorum*), although the relation between the site and the apostles is not clear.[68] All in all, then, the *Templum Domini* is evoked in Abu Gosh thrice: on the east, south and north walls of the church, through allusions to the three different traditions associated with the chapel adjacent to the *Templum Domini:* the location of the Presentation in the Temple, the location of the Annunciation to Zacharias and the location of the Confession of the Apostles.

Unlike the narrative scenes, convincing resonance cannot be established between the icons of the saints in the east bay (plans 2–3/B) and specific holy sites. Of the six figures, only Saint George and Saint Catherine are identifiable through iconography. While Saint George and Saint Catherine are associated with holy locations in Lydia and Sinai, respectively,[69] no definitive conclusion can be drawn regarding the potential connection of the other four saints to sites in the Holy Land.[70] It is possible, however that the group, which includes

67 Description of the Holy Land (as footnote 52 above) 14 – 15.
68 Shagrir, Pilgrim (as footnote 54 above) 77 – 79.
69 Enlart, Monuments (as footnote 7 above) 272 – 274; Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 307 note 99; Weitzmann, Icon painting (as footnote 45 above) 72.
70 Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 173 note 147 suggested one of them to be of Latin origin.

military saints and saints of noble birth, signified the presence of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, represented on the adjacent walls.

To sum up, in the above discussion I have argued that the scenes comprising the decoration program of the Abu Gosh church are associated with the various sacred sites of the Holy Land. While the places thus represented do not form a map of the Holy Land, in terms of cartography or topography, they do afford a panoramic view of its major edifices and structures, including the two most prominent sites, the Holy Sepulcher and the *Templum Domini*, as well as other important places: the Nativity church in Bethlehem, the cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, the Dormition church on Mount Zion and the Tomb of Mary in the Jehoshaphat Valley.[71]

This interpretation reinforces the assumption, ventured by Weyl Carr and Kühnel, that the program centers on the idea of salvation. Based on the conclusions of the present study, this focus is manifested not only in ideational content of the narratives represented, but also in the ideological messages conveyed through their referencing the local holy sites. After all, the promise of salvation was the primary motive for the Crusader conquests of the Holy Land.

A further, and more specific question that is salient in this regard would be, whether and how the selection of the scenes for the program is related to the meeting at Emmaus, the event that the Abu Gosh church was built to commemorate in the first place.[72] I contend that the decoration program was purposely designed to accentuate this connection. I will argue that this is achieved by a carefully planned interrelationship between the building and its internal decoration, designed to mark the crypt as an authentic location of the event commemorated.

The Decoration Program and the Authentication of the *Locus Sanctus*

The area now called Abu Gosh was not the only site historically associated with Emmaus.[73] Until the 12th century, the most widely accepted notion had been that Emmaus was another name for Nicopolis, a town in the Latrun ridge. Nicopolis

71 Folda, Art (as footnote 1 above) 389 found the program to be of “pilgrimage” character; it should be mentioned that the Ascension is missing.

72 The Crusader art related to each *locus sanctus* differently, see Kühnel, Crusader art (as footnote 10 above) 155 – 168, esp. 161 – 163.

73 Boase, Ecclesiastical art (as footnote 3 above) 112.

was regarded as the place where Christ had met two of his disciples following his resurrection already in an early Byzantine tradition, probably based on an even earlier identification, mentioned in the Maccabees and Josephus Flavius' writings, and preserved by the Arab name Amwas (عمواس). On this spot the Crusaders built a church on the ruins of a Byzantine basilica. With Qaryat al 'Inab, today Abu Gosh, Emmaus was identified only in the beginning of the 12th century.[74]

The reason for this shift in tradition is uncertain. It might have been motivated by rivalry between the patrons of the new site in Qaryat al 'Inab and the patrons of the traditional Nicopolis, but the role of political circumstances in this regard, if any, is unclear.[75] Nonetheless, the lack of an established tradition on this point and the availability of other candidates provided the impetus for legitimizing Qaryat al-'Inab as the biblical Emmaus. It is therefore quite plausible that, in order to reinforce the new tradition, the church was decorated with scenes representing the most significant places in the Holy Land, and – crucially – ones whose whereabouts were beyond doubt and had never been questioned.

Moreover, the link posited here between the Abu Gosh church and the holy places it was meant to reference is enhanced by the characteristics of the church structure. All the salient sacred sites in the Holy Land were believed to commemorate a biblical event that had taken place beneath the respective building, in a crypt, grotto or underground chamber, all of these being characteristic features of the Holy Land commemorative churches in general.[76]

The representations on the walls of the Abu Gosh church are associated, respectively, with the *Confessio Apostolorum* chapel in a crypt adjoining the *Templum Domini*; the Chapel of the Finding of the True Cross in a cave in the Holy Sepulcher; the grotto of the Nativity church in Bethlehem; the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron; the Tomb of Mary in the Jehoshaphat Valley; and arguably, as mentioned earlier, Saint George's Tomb in Lydia.

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74 Regarding the different places identified with Emmaus, see Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 149 – 151; Boase, Ecclesiastical art (as footnote 3 above) 112 – 113, 259 – 260 note 9; Pringle, Churches (as footnote 3 above) 7 – 8; C. Mauss, L'église de Saint-Jérémie à Abou-Gosch. *Revue Archéologique* 19 (1892) 223 – 271; B. Kühnel, Crusader art in Jerusalem, in J. Prawer/ H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), The history of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099 – 1250). Jerusalem 1991, 314 note 29 (in Hebrew); Kühnel, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 151 mentioned the possibility that artistic traditions had been imported from Nicopolis.

75 It was suggested that the Knights Templar might have owned the holy site in Latrun. However, the Templars ownership of Nicopolis has not been ascertained, and is only based on conjecture. Fishhof, Hospitaller patronage (as footnote 2 above) 88 – 90.

76 Weyl Carr, Mural paintings (as footnote 3 above) 229 note 45.

Likewise, the holy site commemorated by the Abu Gosh basilica was located in the crypt beneath the church, a belief attested by sources from the 12th and 13th centuries.[77] The parallelism between the holy places related to the Abu Gosh decoration program and the crypt beneath the church itself was enhanced through architectural features, as the crypt repeated the plan of the church on a smaller scale (see plans 1–3). Moreover, the crypt was located under the two eastern bays of the church, which alone were adorned with paintings.[78] It can thus be contended that the frescoes and the structural features of the basilica, together, served to authenticate the site as Emmaus.

To conclude, this study has argued that the scenes on the walls of the Crusader church in Abu Gosh uncovered and restored during the recent works have allowed us to reexamine the entire program from a new perspective. Specifically, a case has been made that the frescoes in the church reference a set of prominent sacred places in the Holy Land, and that a structural link between these and the church building reinforces the conception of the site as the biblical Emmaus. This association aligns with a shift in the tradition regarding the location of Emmaus that occurred in the 12th century, when the decoration program of the church was devised and executed. The harmonious interrelationship demonstrated here between the architecture and decoration in the Abu Gosh Crusader church can thus be seen as a direct link to the *locus sanctus* it was meant to commemorate.

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77 Ibid.; FOLDA, Art (as footnote 1 above) 383; regarding the crypt in Abu Gosh, see PIÉLLAT, Second letter (as footnote 8 above) 1–10.

78 The crypt, too, was decorated with wall paintings, whose state of preservation is poor. The ceiling was covered in stars, and on the main apse was painted a low curtain decorated with different patterns. We do not know whether the walls of the crypt contained narrative representations. Kühnel suggested that, in the past, there had been a depiction of the meeting at Emmaus. KÜHNEL, Wall painting (as footnote 3 above) 176–177.

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Father and son like eagle and eaglet – concepts of animal species and human families in Byzantine court oration (11th/12th c.)

Abstract: The idea that physical features and character traits are inherited from ancestors is central to the self-identification and representation of pre-modern elites. For the 12th-century Byzantine aristocracy, the idea of family and ancestry was of major importance. Members of the military elite frequently had themselves depicted as the latest scions of a lineage of brave warriors. The ruling Komnenoi and Angeloi tried to establish dynastic claims to the throne by presenting their families as being more fit to rule than any other. To support these claims, panegyrists turned to nature in search of legitimizing comparanda. The idea that animal species reproduce unchanged and pass on their specific traits from one generation to the next, provided a suitable model. Comparisons of emperors or aristocrats and their sons with lion and lion cub or eagle and eaglet were popular images in court poetry. Through a detailed examination of this imagery, the paper exemplifies how writers and orators made use of theories from ancient/medieval natural science and created legitimizing models for socio-political needs.

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Introduction

> Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς εὐθετίζει τὸ πτερὸν εἰς ἄνεσιν, ἄλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἀετιδεῖς αὐτὸ συχνὰ διαπεταννὺς ἐξαίρεσθαι μετάρσιος θέλει καὶ τοῖς γενναιοτέροις ἐπιβάλλει τῶν ἔργων καὶ καταράσσων οἷον ὑψόθεν θηρία καταβάλλει ἐμπείρων ὄνυχας, [...], καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν μεγίστην καὶ τελεωτάτην ἄγραν μελετᾷ, δι᾽ ἧς οἱ δεινοὶ θῆρες, τὸ βάρβαρον, συλλαμβάνονται· καὶ οὕτω μὲν παραμετρεῖ ἑαυτόν, ὡς δυνατόν, τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ταχυπτερύγῳ ἀετῷ τῷ πατρί.
>
> He does not fold his wings in a relaxed [position] either, but, spreading them wide [open] in the manner of the noble born eaglets, he wants to arise high in the air and he throws himself onto the most noble works and, falling down from above, he subdues wild animals, impaling them upon his claws [...] and with these he accomplishes the greatest and most perfect chase, by which the terrible beasts, the barbarians, are captured; and in this manner he measures himself, as far as it is possible, with the great and swift-winged paternal eagle.[1]

For the audience of Eustathios of Thessalonike's imperial oration in c. 1180[2] it was not difficult to properly interpret the two eagles mentioned here, one of them still a chick, the other one "great" and "swift-winged". The eaglet stands for none other than Alexios II Komnenos, a boy of about ten or eleven and the only male heir of Emperor Manuel I, who is represented by the "paternal" eagle.[3] While being traditional symbols for imperial rule, eagle and eaglet also promote the idea of continuity between the two Komnenoi, presenting them as identical members of the same species. Considering the advanced age of Manuel, the orator's message is clear: although still young, Alexios already prefigures the qualities of his father and thus qualifies as the most able candidate to continue his rule.[4]

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1 Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. P. Wirth, Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora magnam partem inedita. *CFHB*, 32. Berlin 2000, 190, 77 – 84 (no. 11). See also the German translation and commentary by G. Karla / K. Metzler, Eustathios von Thessalonike. Kaiserreden. *BGL*, 81. Stuttgart 2016, 157 – 179.

2 For the dating see Wirth in Eustathios of Thessalonike, Opera minora, 34*. For scholars proposing an earlier dating in the 1170s see the summary in Karla/Metzler, ibid. 157, note 717.

3 For the birth of Alexios II see P. Wirth, Wann wurde Kaiser Alexios II. Komnenos geboren? *BZ* 49 (1956) 65 – 67, who proposes 14 September 1169 as the most likely date.

4 Manuel was born in 1118 and passed away in the course of the year 1180. For the dates see K. Barzos, Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν. Thessalonike 1984, I 422. Wirth in Eustathios of Thessalonike, Opera minora, 34* sees an allusion to Manuel's illness in the same speech, which would support the interpretation of Eustathios already considering the time after the emperor's death.

Looking for a model to justify hereditary succession on the throne, Eustathios refers to the animal world, transferring the idea of an immutability of species to a highly political context. In this regard, he is no exception. A perusal of 12th century Byzantine panegyric texts dedicated to emperors and aristocrats shows a considerable number of similar statements that generally compared fathers and sons with two generations of lions, eagles or, less frequently, other animals. Their aim is to prove a particular similarity between the generations of a (human) family with regard to physical appearance, character traits and abilities. A hereditary transmission of properties is implied, corresponding to the succession of generations within animal species, where unaltered reproduction is generally assumed.

This remarkable imagery exemplifies the recourse to models from zoological and anthropological discourse[5] by courtly rhetoric. In the new context, however, the images drawn from these models follow a different logic. They are put in the service of rhetoric agendas, to illustrate and legitimize not just biological, but social and political circumstances, to affirm aristocratic "family virtues" and claims of hereditary succession to the imperial throne. This paper will investigate these practices in detail and discuss the socio-political conditions that promoted the metaphorical use of "animal lineages", a phenomenon which did not appear at random, but was a reaction to specific discussions at court.

The immutability of species in ancient zoology and Christian thought

The general concept underlying ancient Greco-Roman as well as medieval Byzantine zoology is that every animal is equipped with specific behavioural and physical characteristics which are alike in *all* members of the species. This way of classification is characteristic for ancient zoological tradition, as presented in the influential works of Aristotle, Ailianos and Timotheos of Gaza that provided authoritative knowledge for medieval Byzantine scholars and intellectuals.[6] Even more typological classifications appear in Christian texts

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5 "Scientific", as the Byzantine authors understood it, i.e., following knowledge traditions on the composition and mechanics of the *kosmos*.

6 For their reception in Byzantium see F. Berger, Die Textgeschichte der Historia Animalium des Aristoteles. *Serta graeca*, 21. Wiesbaden 2005, 158–159; E. Pappa in idem (ed.), Georgios Pachymeres, Philosophia, Buch 6. Kommentar zu De partibus animalium des Aristoteles. *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi*, 4/1. Athens 2008, 13*–23*, H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane

that discuss flora and fauna on the basis of the ancient zoological knowledge, adding their own interpretations of the God-created *kosmos*.[7] In contrast to texts like Aristoteles' *Historia Animalium*, that discuss a multitude of animals and often distinguish species and subspecies, Christian zoology tends to simplify and limits itself to very general species (*the* lion, *the* eagle and, even more generic, *the* fish, etc.), defined by a limited number of prototypical characteristics, or focuses on a selection of exemplary animals.[8] An illustrative example can be found in Basileios of Kaisareia's 9th homily to the *Hexaemeron*, presenting several animals, each of which is defined by a clear behavioural category:[9]

> Ἰδιώμασι δὲ διαφόροις ἕκαστον τῶν ζῴων κέκριται. Εὐσταθὴς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βοῦς, νωθὴς δὲ ὁ ὄνος, [...], ἀτιθάσσευτος ὁ λύκος, [...], δειλὸν ὁ ἔλαφος, [...], εὐχάριστον ὁ κύων καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν μνημονικόν.
>
> Each of the animals stands out with different characteristics. [For] the ox has a strong constitution, the ass is idle, [...], the wolf is untameable, [...], the deer is fearful, [...] the dog [is] grateful and does not forget friendship.[10]

Literatur der Byzantiner. Munich 1978, II 265, and F.S. Bodenheimer / A. Rabinowitz (ed. and transl.), On animals: fragments of a Byzantine paraphrase of an animal-book of the 5th century AD. Paris 1949, 6 – 7 and 14 – 16. For the zoological textual tradition in Byzantium see T.G. Kolias, Ο άνθρωπος και τα ζώα στο Βυζάντιο, in I. Anagnostakis / T.G. Kolias / E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7ος–12ος αι.), Athens 2011, 15 – 22; and Z. Kádár, Survivals of Greek zoological illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts. Budapest 1987, 20 – 29.

7 There was, however, from the beginning of Christian thought a discussion on whether nature can be interpreted allegorically or whether descriptions of nature should stick to the literal sense. See H. Maguire, Earth and ocean. The terrestrial world in early Byzantine art. University Park / London 1987, 17 – 19.

8 See, for instance, the division of the Physiologos, discussing one by one a number of exemplary animals. For the three Greek versions see Physiologus, ed. F. Sbordone. Milan 1936, XII–XXIX.

9 For the *Hexaemera* and their treatment of nature see Maguire, Earth (as footnote 7 above) 31 – 33 and 57 – 59.

10 Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron, ed. E. Amand de Mendita / S.Y. Rudberg. *GCS N.S.*, 2. Berlin 1997, no. 9, 149:13 – 17. See also Severianus of Gabala (4th /beg. 5th c.), reporting that Adam had named "all the birds, the animals, the wild serpents [...] the species, the genera" (ὀνόματα ὅλοις πετεινοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς θηρίοις [...] τὰ εἴδη, τὰ γένη·) while in his own examples he mostly stays on a rather general level ("the monkey", the serpent" etc.). Severiani Gabalorum episcopi in mundi creationem, oratio VI, in PG 56, Paris 1862, 486. See also the heavily allegoric interpretation of types and species of animals in: Anastasios of Sinai, Hexaemeron, ed. C.A. Kuehn / J.D. Baggarly. Rome 2007, book 5, ch. 5:229 – ch. 7:372 who sometimes selects rather specific animals (e.g. the sea-eel) and in other instances allegorizes whole groups (the birds, the fish).

This clear-cut division of very general species is closely related to the purpose of these texts: either to show examples for God's magnificent creation or to provide moral advice and metaphysical insight, rather than to depict nature in the most detailed way. Similar simplifications can be found in the ancient and medieval fables, which also do not aim at a scientific exploration of nature, but first and foremost represent human behaviour.[11]

The general idea of physiognomic and behavioural traits specific to every species is part of a theory about the functioning of the *kosmos* that goes back to antiquity, containing the notion of a close connection between living beings' characters, behaviour, physiognomic features and physical conditions. In the beginning of his world chronicle, the 12th-century intellectual Michael Glykas dedicates a lengthy passage to the animals populating the world. His description of certain species-characteristics closely follows this theory. Explaining fear and flight responses of various animals, he argues with their physical build, in this case, the shape of their hearts. According to Glykas, hares, deer and mice possess relatively big hearts compared to their bodies, wherefore the internal "fire" – possibly the warm blood – which supposedly is responsible for courage, "runs through and is not gathered" there,[12] causing their lack of courage.[13]

These ideas show a close relationship to ancient zoological thought, where the connection of body temperature and fear/courage was rather common. In his theory on the characteristics of species, Aristotle makes the composition of the animal's blood responsible for its receptiveness to heat=passion/courage or coldness=fear.[14] A slightly different theory can be found in the work of Nemesius of Emesa (4th c.), where fear is accompanied by the warm blood retreating into the heart, causing a chill/cooling down in the rest of the body.[15] The composition of the body itself is deeply related to the natural affordances of the environment. According to Aristotle, every organ is an instrument of the soul, adjusted to fulfil certain functions (nutrition, sense perception, movement), which themselves are

11 For the fables and their relationship to the Christian zoology see J. E. SALISBURY, The beast within. Animals in the Middle Ages. New York / London 1994, 108 – 136, especially 128 – 136.
12 […] διαχέεται τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐ συνῆκται: Michaelis Glycae Annales, ed. I. BEKKER. Bonn 1836, 103:6 – 7.
13 Ibid., 97:22 – 98:6.
14 Aristoteles, De partibus animalium, II 1. 647a25 – 35; II 4. 650b19 – 35. For the connection of hot blood and courage see also II 2. 648a10.
15 Nemesius, De natura hominis, ed. M. MORANI. Berlin 1987, c. 21, p. 82.

defined by habitat, the way of acquiring food, the necessity to defend against other creatures, etc.[16]

In Christian thought, however, the internal logic of nature, the relationship of physical form and function, is the consequence of God's creation, an idea which in Glykas' world view does not contradict Aristotelian theory:

> κατὰ τὰ ἤθη γὰρ τῶν ψυχῶν, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης[17] φησί, δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος διαπλάσεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας. [...] τῷ λαγωῷ καὶ ἐλάφῳ δειλοῖς οὖσι κατὰ ψυχὴν δρόμον ἔδωκεν, ἵνα τὰς τῶν κυνηγούντων χεῖρας ἐκφεύγωσι. τῷ χοίρῳ θυμώδει καὶ πολεμιστῇ ὄντι τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας, τῷ ταύρῳ κέρας χαρίζεται, καὶ τῷ λέοντι ὀδόντας καὶ ὄνυχας.
>
> For, corresponding to the disposition of the souls, according to the words of Aristotle, God also gives the forms and functions of the body. [...] to the hare and the deer he gave speed, since they have a timid soul, so that they escape from the hunters' hands; to the boar, which is terrifying and bellicose, he gave the tusks, to the bull he gave horns and to the lion he gave teeth and claws.[18]

The implication of this theory is an immutable reproduction of species, caused by the structure and affordances of the *kosmos* created by God who, in the words of Glykas "gave the forms and functions of the body"[19] and, as Basileios of Kaisareia states, "by one command" sets in motion "the nature of things, to evenly pass through the state of coming into being and ceasing to exist and preserving the succession of generations in their resemblance, until it reaches the end itself. For it makes a horse the successor of a horse and a lion [the successor] of a lion and an eagle [the successor] of an eagle; and it passes on every living

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16 Regarding every organ as an instrument of the soul, adjusted to fulfil certain functions (nutrition, sense perception, movement), which themselves are defined by the habitat, the way of acquiring food, the necessity to defend against other creatures, etc. Aristoteles, De Anima II 2. 413b11 – 13; II 4. 415b8 – 27; De partibus animalium, I 1. 642a9 – 12; III 17. 660b12 – 26; III 1.661b 28 – 662b15; III 2. 663b25 – 664a 8. See J. Althoff, Die aristotelischen Wurzeln des Organismusbegriffs, in G. Heinemann / R. Timme (eds.), Aristoteles und die heutige Biologie. Vergleichende Studien. *Lebenswissenschaften im Dialog*, 17. Freiburg / Munich 2016, 83 – 108; W. Kullmann, Aristoteles und die moderne Wissenschaft. *Philosophie der Antike*, 5. Stuttgart 1998, 270 – 271.

17 Aristotle does not postulate a divine creator, but the teleological view on the characteristics of animals generally matches his approach.

18 Michaelis Glycae Annales, 97:22 – 98:6.

19 [...], δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος διαπλάσεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας: Ibid. 98:1 – 2.

being, which is preserved by a continuous succession, until the completion of everything."[20]

Hereditary transmission of character traits in animals and humans

While the idea of unalterable species characteristics was commonly accepted with regard to animals, there has always been discussion whether such a theory is applicable to humans as well, especially with regard to characteristics beyond external appearance, such as dispositions of character and virtues.[21] Already the Homeric heroes refer to their fathers when it comes to their own qualities, although the transmission of outstanding features is not thought as a given; there is always the possibility of proving to be unworthy of one's own ancestors.[22] The general idea that there is no hereditary disposition to virtues and abilities is formulated most clearly by the sophists of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. who stress the educational aspect of human development, although there are different opinions regarding how far natural abilities influence the learning ability of a subject.[23] While Plato formulates the assumption that a virtuous or talented human can create bad or untalented offspring,[24] Aristotle's famous remark that a human always brings forth another human ("ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ") implies that one member of a certain kind always produces another member of the same kind.[25] Observing the transfer of external characteristics

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20 οὕτως ἡ φύσις τῶν ὄντων, ἑνὶ προστάγματι κινηθεῖσα, τὴν ἐν τῇ γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ κτίσιν ὁμαλῶς διεξέρχεται, τὰς τῶν γενῶν ἀκολουθίας δι᾽ ὁμοιότητος ἀποσῴζουσα, ἕως ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸ καταντήσῃ τὸ τέλος. Ἵππον μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ποιεῖται διάδοχον καὶ λέοντα λέοντος καὶ ἀετὸν ἀετοῦ· καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ζώων, ταῖς ἐφεξῆς διαδοχαῖς συντηρούμενον μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ παντὸς παραπέμπει: Basileios, Homilien (as footnote 10 above), no. 9, 148:4 – 9.

21 Although the distinction between humans and animals (or human and non-human animals) is a matter of discussion, particularly in the field of Human Animal Studies, a clear distinction has to be taken into account for the period analysed here.

22 See for example Iliad, book 6, 145 – 211: Glaukos gives an account on his ancestry and their deeds. About his father he says (206 – 209): "Hippolochos begot me […]. He sent me to Troy, and ordered me very many [times], / to be always the best and to surpass the others, so that I do not dishonour the ancestral lineage […]."

23 H. Flashar / G.B. Kerfeld, Die Sophistik, in K. Döring / H. Flashar / G.B. Kerferd et al. (eds.), Sophistik. Sokrates. Sokratik. Mathematik. Medizin. Basel 1998, 11 – 19.

24 Plato, Protagoras, 327b–328d.

25 Aristoteles, Metaphysica VII 8. 1033b29 – 1034a5; Physica II 2. 194b13. Aristotle has the transmission of form and (species-)character in mind. The generating part already possesses

with regard to humans,[26] he nevertheless rejects an exclusively natural disposition for virtues, which are generally to be learned.[27]

Traces of this discussion can still be found in the texts by the intellectual elite of 12th-century Byzantium. Konstantinos Manasses addresses the topic in his world chronicle when he tries to explain how the virtuous emperor Marcus Aurelius could bring forth the ill-reputed Commodus. He states that, while among animals the offspring is in no way different from their parents, this is by no means true for humans:

> […] θαυμάζω τὸ παλίντοκον τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους
> καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐξεικάζονται παῖδες τοῖς σφῶν πατράσιν.
> ἀεὶ μὲν λεοντόθυμον σκύμνον ὁ λέων τίκτει
> καὶ πάρδαλις ταὐτόθυμον καὶ τίγρις αὐτοτίγριν,
> παρὰ δ᾽ ἀνθρώποις ἄνισοι παῖδες πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας·
>
> […] I marvel at the succession of generations within the human race, and how children do not resemble their parents. Although the lion always gives birth to a cub with the spirit of a lion and a leopard [brings forth a cub with] the same spirit and a Tiger again a Tiger, concerning humans, however, children are different from the parents.[28]

In his romance "Aristandros and Kallithea", however, Manasses displays a different opinion, stating that bad traits in a person *indeed* have their roots in the parent. In one of the fragments, a protagonist explicitly presents the son's impudent nature as a result of the father's flaws:

> τοιοῦτος ἦν πτωχαλαζὼν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πατήρ σου, […],
> ἐκεῖνος ὁ δουλότροπος ὁ γεννησάμενός σε·
> γνωρίζει δὲ τὸ γέννημα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα·
> ὠμὸν ἐξέφυ γὰρ ὠμοῦ, θρασὺ θρασυκαρδίου.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἔδει σε, πολύζηλε, λογίζεσθαι κἀκεῖνο,
> ὡς ἅπαν φρόνημα σκληρὸν αἴσχιστον πτῶμα πίπτει.
>
> That [man] was such an impoverished braggart, your father, […], that [man] with the servile disposition who begot you; but the offspring knows his father; for a savage [person] gen-

the form of the generated, although there is still space for individual traits. See K. Oehler, Ein Mensch erzeugt einen Menschen. Über den Mißbrauch der Sprachanalyse in der Aristotelesforschung. Frankfurt am Main 1963, 37 – 65.

26 Aristoteles, De generatione animalium I 17. 721b 13 – 722a1 and Historia animalium VII 6. 585b28 – 586a15.

27 Aristoteles, Ethica Nicomachea II 1. 1103a14 – 1103b25. See also idem, De generatione animalium, IV 3. 767b 1 – 769b10 about the resemblance of a human to his/her parents and forbears.

28 Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum, ed. O. Lampsidis. *CFHB*, 36. Athens 1996, vv. 2210 – 2214.

> erates a[nother] savage, an insolent [person] a[nother] insolent [person]. But you should consider this, as you emulate him, that every unbending character falls a most disgraceful fall.[29]

One could argue that this presents no real contradiction to the chronicle, since it merely discusses the results of bad parental example: "the offspring knows his father". The choice of the verb ἐκφύω ("to generate", "to beget"), however, implies a transmission of behavioural dispositions in a truly genealogical sense, although a subsequent change is considered possible, as the last sentence indicates ("ὡς ἅπαν φρόνημα [...]."). This does not necessarily tell anything about Manasses' personal opinion regarding this question, but rather shows how an author draws from different possible argumentations present in contemporary discourse.

The same is true for Theodoros Prodromos, whose hero in the romance "Rhodante and Dosikles" states that (human) mothers would "bear forms [similar] to their children", referring to the procreation of plants, where "out of necessity grapevines of a certain type bring forth wine of a corresponding type."[30] While it is not clear whether Prodromos merely refers to outer appearance or to character as well,[31] Eustathios of Thessalonike, commenting on the properties which Aeneas and Achilles each received from their divine ancestors, leaves no doubt that he argues for a hereditary transmission not just of physical traits, but also of character, "for, according to the rule of the noble birth, the preeminence of the fathers, and of the forbears in general, is passed to the descendants."[32]

The topic was thus not limited to zoological and anthropological treatises, but appeared also in the broader context of the literary works produced by learned Constantinopolitan intellectuals. Turning to the realm of court orations and historiography, one enters a field of texts that to a much greater degree serve ideological purposes and political agendas. Here, the idea that a person's physical traits, behaviour and even the qualification for social status derives

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29 Konstantinos Manasses, Aristandros and Kallithea, ed. O. Mazal, Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses. Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente. *WBS*, 4. Vienna 1967, fragm. 86:5 – 9.

30 … ἔφης ἂν εὐφυῶς οὐδ᾽ ἀσκόπως, / ὡς τηλικαύτας ἀμπέλους τίκτειν ἔδει / τὸν τηλικοῦτον οἶνον: Theodoros Prodromos, Rhodante and Dosikles, ed. M. Marcovich. Stuttgart / Leipzig 1992, book 3:49 – 51.

31 … αἱ γὰρ μητέρες / τὰς ἐμφερεῖς φέρουσι μορφὰς τοῖς τέκνοις: ibid. 3:51 – 52.

32 Κατὰ λόγον γὰρ εὐγενείας ἡ τῶν πάππων καὶ ὅλως τῶν προγόνων ὑπεροχὴ καταβαίνει καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπογόνους: Eustathios of Thessalonike, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani, ed. M. van der Valk. Leiden 1971 – 1987, IV 379:7 – 8, commenting on Iliad, book 20, 106.

from corresponding characteristics of the parents, is a frequently applied argument. To strengthen the point, authors embed their statements in the context of the law of nature, drawing comparisons to the reproduction of animal species. They apply specific patterns of argumentation and imagery that meet their propagandistic needs in the context of current social and political discussions, borrowing and re-using knowledge from contemporary discourse on nature.

"Lineages" of eagle and lion in the context of imperial succession

The lion and the eagle are doubtless the most political animals in the Byzantine bestiary. Symbols for imperial authority and martial virtues, they clearly dominate the repertoire of animal imagery in political historiography and the rhetorical representation of emperors and aristocrats.[33] It is therefore no wonder that, when the imagery of "animal-lineages" is applied to members of the political and social elite, authors and orators almost exclusively refer to these two animals. The most common instance in the panegyric court texts is the comparison of the emperor and his offspring with an eagle and its eaglets or a lion and its lion cubs. The idea is always the same: just as several generations of an animal species share the same characteristics, the outstanding features of the human father are reproduced in the son. The ruling family is presented as a kind of "imperial species" where the fitness to rule is transmitted from one generation to the next.[34] The following passage is from an encomium by Theophylaktos of Ochrid, presented for Emperor Alexios I in ca. 1088. The text was written briefly after the birth of Alexios' first born son Ioannes (II) and addresses the latter's status as heir and successor to the throne:

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33 See T. Schmidt, Tierbildlichkeit im politischen Diskurs des byzantinischen Kaiserhofs vom späten 11. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert (forthcoming), and idem, Protective and fierce: the emperor as a lion in contact with foreigners and his subjects in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Byzantine court literature, in K. Stewart / J. Moreton Wakeley (eds.), Cross-cultural exchange in the Byzantine world, c. 300 – 1500 AD. Oxford et. al. 2016, 159 – 173.

34 This phenomenon also appears in descriptions of rulers from the medieval west. See D. Jäckel, Der Herrscher als Löwe. Ursprung und Gebrauch eines politischen Symbols im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 60. Cologne 2006, 81 – 82, presenting two cases where Henry II Plantagenet and his sons are depicted as a lion and lion cubs by Stephen of Rouen and by Gervasius of Tilbury.

> Καὶ νῦν τοῖς δεσπόταις ὁ καλός, ὁ μυριοπόθητος, τὸ ὀψιμώτατον θέαμα, ὁ τῶν ἀετῶν νεοττός, ὀξὺ μὲν ὁρῶν ἤδη, περιμένων δὲ τὰ ὠκύπτερα. ’Αλλὰ τί, ὦ πάτερ, πρὸς τὸν παῖδα βραδύτερος ἐγένου τῆς φύσεως; Τί μὴ τὸν βασιλέα υἱὸν καὶ βασιλέα γνωρίζεις, ἀλλ’ἀναδύῃ τὴν ποθουμένην ἀνάρρησιν; Τί μὴ μεταδίδως ὀνόματος τῷ μετασχόντι φύσει τοῦ πράγματος; Ἀλλὰ, κἂν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς, θεσμός ἐστιν Ἀδραστείας ἀκίνητος λέοντα εἶναι τὸν σκύμνον τοῦ λέοντος.

> And now the lords [have received] the beautiful, the thousand times desired, the recent marvel, the eagles’ chick, the eyesight of which is already sharp, but which still awaits [its] long feathers. But, father, why are you slower than nature with regard to the child? Why do you not recognize the emperor’s child as emperor, but defer the longed for proclamation? Why do you not share the name with the one who partakes of the issue by nature? However, even if you do not so desire, it is nevertheless a fixed law of Adrasteia, that the cub of a lion is a lion.[35]

Theophylaktos parallels Alexios and Ioannes with the paternal eagle and the eaglet, the latter already showing characteristics of the former. As a matter of natural necessity, Ioannes will develop into an equivalent of his father, therefore being the most suited candidate to follow on the throne. The same idea is repeated in the comparison of Alexios to the lion, which inevitably brings forth another lion. Theophylaktos consequently advises Alexios to immediately proclaim his son emperor, for he is predestined for this office by nature.

With Alexios being the first Komnenian emperor since the 1050s[36] and after decades of dispute over the throne by various fractions among the elite, Theophylaktos’ message is a firm statement for a hereditary succession within the Komnenian family and, in particular, of Alexios’ son Ioannes. The statement has to be regarded also in the light of the orator’s personal situation. Only a few years before, c. 1085, Theophylaktos had written a speech to his pupil Konstantinos Dukas, giving him advice for good government. As a *porphyrogennetos* betrothed to Alexios I’s eldest daughter Anna, Dukas back then had been treated as designated heir to the throne. With Ioannes’ birth, however, he lost his privileged position and his imperial rank.[37] By omitting Konstantinos’ name in the

35 Théophylacte d’Achrida, Discours, traités, poésies, ed. P. Gautier. *CFHB*, 16. Thessalonike 1980, 235:7 – 14. *Adrasteia* is the goddess of inescapability and absolute necessity. For the dating see, ibid., 96 and E. Malamut, L’image Byzantine des Petchénègues. *BZ* 88 (1995) 105 – 147, here 138 – 140.

36 The only Komnenian on the throne before had been Isaakios I (1057 – 1059).

37 Théophylacte, Discours, ibid. 178 – 211. Konstantinos was the son of the former emperor Michael VII. For his position under Alexios see ibid., 55 – 58 and J.-C. Cheynet, Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963 – 1210). *Publications de la Sorbonne*, 9. Paris 1990, 369 – 370.

speech from c. 1088 and exhorting Alexios to proclaim his son Ioannes emperor, Theophylaktos adapted to the new situation at court.

One generation later, when Ioannes II was succeeded by his son Manuel I, the orator Michael Italikos used an argument quite similar to that of Theophylaktos while addressing the newly-crowned emperor, claiming that "destiny [guards] over the immutability of succession" within the Komnenian family:[38]

> Καὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος ἥλιον, ὥς φησί τις τῶν θύραθεν, εἰ μήμου τὰ τῆς ὕλης ὑβρίσειε καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις βούπρῳρα τερατεύσοιτο ἢ τὰ ἐν βουσὶν ἀνδρόπρῳρα τέρατα, οὕτως ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῖς ἐφηξῆς τὸ γένος ὑμῶν ἀποτίκτειν εἴωθε […]
>
> And just like a human brings forth a[nother] human and a sun a[nother] sun, as one of the pagans says, if one does not violate the [laws] of matter and tells marvels about the bull-faced monsters in human [bodies], or the human-faced monsters in [the bodies of] bulls, so it has always been the custom that your family continuously brings forth emperors from emperors […][39]

The "pagan" mentioned here is none other than Aristotle himself, whose statement about the human always producing another human is cited directly.[40] The bull-headed human creatures go back to a fragment by Empedokles, also cited by Ailianos in a passage on composite creatures.[41] Aristotle refers to them as an example for defective creations in nature that perish, since they do not serve any purpose.[42] Italikos probably refers to this Aristotelian use of Empedokles when he speaks of creations violating the laws of matter. The aim behind these references is the same as in Theophylaktos' passage about natural

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38 Φυλαττούσης τῆς τύχης τὰ τῆς διαδοχῆς τοῦ γένους ἀκαινοτόμητα: Michel Italikos, Lettres et discours, ed. P. GAUTIER. *Archives de l'Orient chrétien*, 14. Paris 1972, no. 44, 278:18–19.
39 Ibid., 278:19–23.
40 See above, p. 965 note 25. The example with the sun producing another sun, however, is not Aristotelian. A passage remotely pointing towards the connection between sun, man, and creation is Aristoteles, Physica II 2. 194b13, where it says, man is begotten by man and the sun as well. It is likely, however, that the idea of the sun creating another sun stems from a different source/author. It might as well be a creation by Italikos himself who alludes to the traditional sun-imagery of Roman and Byzantine emperors.
41 Emped. 31 B 61 DIELS/KRANZ; Ailianos, Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος 16, 29.
42 Aristoteles, Physica, II 8. 198b29–32. For Aristotle, nature always comprises an internal finality. In the case of the bull-headed humans, he therefore does not speak of a violation or suspension of this internal finality in nature, but rather a failure to achieve a suitable result, which might happen every now and then. See Aristoteles, Physikvorlesung, trans. H. WAGNER. *Werke in deutscher Übersetzung,* 11. Darmstadt 1967, 53. It is unclear in how far Italikos follows this idea when he writes of a "violation of the [laws] of matter".

law and *Adrasteia:* to point out the equality of father-emperor and son-successor as a natural necessity. At the end of the oration, Michael harks back to this idea. Again, his argument closely resembles that of Theophylaktos. He compares the emperor and his son with the lion and the lion cub:

> Ἦ δηλονότι πρὸς δύο σε βασιλέας ἀντεξετάζοντες, βασιλεῦ, τῷ μὲν ταὐτὸν εὑρίσκομεν, τῷ δὲ ὅμοιον, ταὐτὸν μὲν τῷ ἐπιγείῳ πατρί σου καὶ αὐτοκράτορι, ὅμοιον δὲ τῷ οὐρανίῳ καὶ παντοκράτορι. Ἔχεις μὲν οὖν τοῦ κάτω βασιλέως καὶ τἆλλα μέν – καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀκτῖνος λαμπρότατον ἔξαλμα πέφηνας – καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς καὶ δραστήριον […], ὁ σκύμνος τὸν λέοντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου δρόμους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ φύσει προδιαγράφεις, καὶ εἴ που βάρβαρος ἀπλὴξ ἀπῆλθεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον σὺ μετελεύσεσθαι δίδως ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως.
>
> If we compare you, emperor, with two emperors, we clearly find out, that to one of them you are equal, to the other, however, you are similar, equal to your earthly father and autokrator, similar to the heavenly father and Pantokrator. You also have the other [characteristics] from the emperor down below – for you also show the shining emission of his rays – and of course also the wakefulness and activity of his mind […], in [your] nature, you, the cub of a lion, prefigure the lion and his quick movement and the struggles, and if some barbarian [has] departed from him [i. e. Ioannes II; T.S.] undefeated, you take up the chase, due to [your] nature.[43]

Although Manuel's suitability is presented as a congenital condition, Italikos does not forget to mention the prince's training and preparation for his future role, which had been supervised by his imperial father. Here the eagle provides the model: just as the king of birds trains its offspring to fly, only the emperor himself is qualified to instruct his successor in governance:

> […] μουσικὴν μὲν καὶ ἰατρικὴν παρὰ Χείρωνι καθάπερ ὁ Πηλεΐδης ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἐκπαιδεύεται, στρατηγικὴν δὲ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ μελετᾷ, ἵνα μὴ βασιλέως ἰδιώτης διδάσκαλος γένηται· δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς ἀετιδεῖς οἱ πατέρες θαμὰ πέτεσθαι προγυμνάζουσιν, ἕως ἂν ἐκπετήσιμοι γένοιντο […].
>
> […] he has not been educated in music and medicine, like that Peleides [= Achilles; T.S.] by Cheiron, but he has studied the science of strategy and government with his father, so that no private person becomes the teacher of an emperor; for it is awe-inspiring, when the paternal [eagles] often train the eaglets how to fly, until they are fledged […][44]

The speech has to be regarded in the context of Manuel's problematic ascension to the throne in 1143. Being present at his father's deathbed in the encampment,

43 Michel Italikos, Lettres (as footnote 38 above) no. 44, 294:9 – 18.
44 Ibid., 282:20 – 283:1.

Manuel was able to outmanoeuvre his older brother Isaakios in Constantinople and secure the throne for himself.[45] Since he was not the obvious successor, Manuel needed further legitimation, regarding both his position as the rightful heir and his qualification as a ruler. With the image of the lion cub and the eagle chick's training, Italikos provides both.

About forty years later, when Manuel I died, his son and successor Alexios II was not even twelve years old and the regency went into the hands of his mother Maria of Antioch and the *Protosebastos* Alexios Komnenos.[46] With the young emperor not yet being able to prove his fitness to rule, it was the encomiasts' task to emphasize the continuity between him and his father. To convey this message, Gregorios Antiochos, in his funeral oration to Manuel (1181), uses the same strategy as Theophylaktos of Ochrid and Michael Italikos, paralleling the old and the new emperor to eagle, eaglet, lion and lion cub:

> κἂν εἰ νεοττὸς οὗτος ἀετιδὴς τὰ πτίλα τε ἁπαλὸς καὶ τὰς τοῦ ῥάμφους καὶ τῶν ὀνύχων γναμπτὰς ἀκμὰς τρυφερός, ἀλλά οἱ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀπτικὸν τέλειον λαμπρῶς ἀετῶδες πρὸς ἡλιαυγεῖς ἀκτῖνας ἀγαθοῦ παντὸς ἀντωποῦν καὶ περὶ κατανόησιν τούτου σκαρδαμύττον μηδέν· κἂν εἰ σκύμνος οὕτος λεοντιδῆς καὶ ἡ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀμυντηρίων ἁδρότης τούτου καὶ κραταιότης οὐκ εὔκαιρος, ἀλλ'ἡ τοῦ στήθους αὐτῷ λασιότης τὸ τῆς ἐνοικουρούσης καρδίας ἄλκιμον ἐπαγγέλεται [...]
>
> And if this one [is] a young eagle, whose feathers are downy and [whose] curved points of the beak and the claws are [still] soft, the gaze of the soul, however, [that is,] to clearly gaze towards the sun's shining rays of virtue, like an eagle [normally does], without squinting while observing them, [is] fully developed; and if this one is a cub of a lion, and the force of the physical weapons and the strength are not [yet] sufficient, the mane at his breast nevertheless announces the bravery of the heart inside him [...][47]

Antiochos took up an argument and imagery that had been present in courtly discourse already briefly before Manuel's death. This can be seen from the

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45 For the circumstances of Manuel's ascension to the throne see P. Magdalino, The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143 – 1180. Cambridge 1993, 195.

46 Δωδεκαετηρίδος χρόνον μάλιστα: Gregorios Antiochos, Laudatio Funebris Manuelis Imperatoris, ed. V. E. Regel / N. I. Novosadskij, Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae I/2. Petrograd 1917, no. 12, 224:16 – 17. Manuel died in September 1180, Gregorios' speech is probably from January 1181. For the date and the interpretation of "μάλιστα" as "almost" see Wirth, Kaiser Alexios II. (as footnote 3 above) 65 – 67. For the regency for Alexios II see R.-J. Lilie, Macht und Ohnmacht. Zum Zerfall der Zentralgewalt in Byzanz vor dem vierten Kreuzzug. *Poikila Byzantina* 4 (1984) 85 – 87 and Ch. Brand, Byzantium confronts the west. 1180 – 1204. Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 31 – 32.

47 Gregorios Antiochos, Laudatio Funebris, ibid. 224:22 – 225:3.

speech by Eustathios of Thessalonike from c. 1180, cited in the introductory section of this paper. Comparing Alexios II to an eaglet accomplishing "the greatest and most perfect chase" of the barbarians, and measuring himself, "with the great and swift-winged paternal eagle",[48] the text reflects the courtiers' anticipation of the problems of Alexios' infancy that would inevitably emerge in the case of the old emperor's death.

The concept of a natural transmission of traits as a model for an equally natural transmission of imperial rights continued to be used after the end of the Komnenian dynasty. Addressing the new emperor Alexios IV Angelos in 1203, the encomiast Nikephoros Chrysoberges clearly follows the popular rhetorical imagery of his 12th c. predecessors, tightly connecting Alexios with his father Isaakios II by the image of eagle and eaglet:

> ἓν μὲν οὖν τοῦτο πανάριστον, ὅτι περ βασιλεὺς ἐκ βασιλέως προελήλυθας ἀγαθοῦ, ἐκ φιλανθρώπου φιλάνθρωπος· [...] ὥστε τὴν αὐτοκρατορίαν ἔχεις, ὦ κραταιέ, οὐ χρόνου δῶρον, οὐ δ᾽ αὐτοματισμοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθίας εὐτακτούσης προσαγωγὴν καὶ φύσεως δικαίαν ἄντικρυς εἰσφοράν. καὶ τὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιπρεπῆ ἀπὸ διττῶν αὐτὸς τῶν τρόπων πάντα συνέλαβες· τὰ μὲν ἐκ φυσικῆς δεξιότητος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἀγωγῆς, οἷαν αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνακτόροις ἀνέβαινες μέγας ἀετιδὴς ἀετῷ συμπτερυγίζων τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ καὶ τοὺς ἑτεροφύλους συσπαράττων στρουθούς.

> This one [thing] is really the best, that you, emperor [= Alexios IV; T.S.], are born of a good emperor [= Isaakios II; T.S.], a benefactor [comes] from a benefactor; [...] That is why you hold the empire, oh mighty one, not as a gift of time or chance, but as an orderly succession and an entirely rightful gift from nature. You have acquired everything that befits emperors in two ways: some things thanks to nature, others by royal education, wherefore you entered [the] imperial palace [as] a great eaglet, which flaps its wings together with the great paternal eagle and tears to pieces the chicks of another breed.[49]

Both Angeloi had recently been installed on the throne by the army of the Fourth Crusade.[50] This was technically a restitution of the former emperor Isaakios, who had been overthrown and blinded by his brother Alexios (III) eight years before.

48 See above, p. 960. The image of the child hunting barbarians is, of course, a literary exaggeration.

49 Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos orationes tres, ed. M. Treu, in: 127. Programm des Königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau 1892. II. Wiss. Abhandlung. Breslau 1892, no. 3, 25:7 – 8; 15 – 22.

50 Brand assumes that this speech, which had been composed for January 6, 1204, when the crusaders were still "considered loyal supporters" of the emperor, had never been presented in this form, due to the violence that broke out between the Constantinopolitans and the crusaders in December 1203. See Ch. M. Brand, A Byzantine plan for the Fourth Crusade. *Speculum* 43 (1968) 462 – 475, here 475.

While Isaakios, who probably did not play an active role in politics anymore, possessed the legitimation as a regularly crowned emperor, Alexios IV was a new figure on the political stage of Constantinople and owed his rule to the intervention of foreign forces.[51]

Chrysoberges supports him as the legitimate emperor, emphasizing his descent from the "paternal eagle" Isaakios and presenting his rule as "an entirely rightful gift of nature", not "of time or chance". Following this, he stresses Alexios' "royal education" that provided him with "everything that befits emperors". This double argumentation closely resembles Michael Italikos, who in 1143 had presented Manuel I's succession to the throne both as a natural condition and the result of proper training and preparation.[52] Just like Manuel had to compete with his older brother's claims, Alexios IV had to prove to be more suited to rule than his deposed uncle. In these cases, the dynastic argument obviously lost strength and had to be supplemented with the aspect of fitness and preparation by the former emperor.

The examples presented show a continuous tradition of references to the reproduction of lion and eagle when it comes to the discussion of imperial succession, particularly, when the legitimation of a new ruler was contested. The exclusive selection of lion and eagle in this context results from the long tradition of both animals as symbols for imperial authority in Byzantine culture. Since antiquity they are regarded as the kings of birds/animals, bearing outstanding physical abilities that are superior to those of all other members of the fauna.[53] The eagle is symbolically connected to the sun and divine power and refers to renovation and justice. Lions in turn represent regal or imperial rule throughout the eastern Mediterranean. They are conceptualized as representatives of universal order, and in Christian thought they refer to the biblical rulers from the house of Judah and the kingship of Christ. In 12th c. encomiastic writing, lions and eagles are extremely popular as metaphors for members of the imperial family and, in the case of the lion, also aristocrats.[54] They represent the position of the ruler within the *kosmos* (superior leader, protector, victor, etc.) and embody physical as well as behavioural characteristics that correspond to the concept of the

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51 For the position of Isaakios II see Brand, ibid. 473.
52 See above, p. 970.
53 For the conceptualization of lion and eagle see Schmidt, Tierbildlichkeit (as footnote 33 above). For the lion as a political symbol in the medieval west see Jäckel, Herrscher (as footnote 34 above).
54 In the texts that have come down to us the eagle was predominantly limited to the emperor, while lions are common in encomiastic descriptions of aristocratic warriors. See Schmidt, Tierbildlichkeit (as footnote 33 above).

ideal ruler/aristocrat, like the lion's "noble ethos", its "courageous soul" and "royal virtue".[55]

Points of special interest with regard to the eagle are its sharp eyes and its ability to face the sun. Both features are directly connected to the idea prevalent in ancient zoology that eagles test the worthiness of their young. According to Aristotle, the eagle "forces the children [...] to look into the sun [...] and if the eyes of any of them get watery, it kills this one, the others, however, it rears up."[56] In Ailianos' interpretation, this test is meant to prove "the legitimacy of the nestlings." If the eaglet "faces [the sun] quite indifferently, it is above suspicion and registered among the legitimate [offspring], since for it [the eagle] the celestial fire is truly an impartial and unwritten register of origin."[57]

It has been proposed that with the description of the eagle's test of its offspring, Ailianos himself already might have had political implications in mind, alluding to Emperor Septimius Severus' invented adoption by Marcus Aurelius after his seizure of power. This adoption, which was criticised and mocked by contemporaries, is described by Cassius Dio as a "self-registering" among the legitimate heirs of the Antonine Dynasty.[58] As Smith argues on the basis of the lexical coincidence between Cassius' "registration" and Ailianos' "unwritten register", the latter's description creates a contrast between Severus' artificial kinship and the king of birds who does not need constructions of this type, since it naturally proves his heirs to be its own true flesh and blood.[59] That the orators in 12th century Byzantium definitely transferred the idea of the eagle assuring the legitimacy of its heirs to the political discussion appears most clearly from the comparison of Alexios II to an eaglet facing the sun in Gregorios Antiochos' oration, as well as in the oration by Theophylaktos of Ochrid who alludes to the sharp eyes of the "eaglet" Ioannes (II). And also Chryso-

55 Aristoteles, Historia animalium I 1. 488b12 – 20; Oppianus Apameensis, Cynegetica. Eutecnius Sophistes, Paraphrasis metro soluta, ed. M. Papathomopoulos. *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, 1256. München/Leipzig 2003, book 3, 56:7 – 59:62; Eustathios of Thessalonike, Opera minora (as footnote 1 above), no. 14, 241:26 – 30.

56 Τὰ τέκνα ἀναγκάζει [...] πρὸς τὸν ἥλιόν βλέπειν [...] καὶ ὁποτέρου ἂν ἔμπροσθεν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ δακρύσωσιν τοῦτον ἀποκτείνει, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐκτρέφει· Aristoteles, Historia animalium VIII(IX) 34. 620a1 – 5.

57 Βάσανος δέ οἱ τῶν νεοττῶν τῶν γνησίων ἐκείνη ἐστίν ... ἐὰν δὲ ἀντιβλέψῃ καὶ μάλα ἀτρέπτως, ἀμείνων ἐστὶν ὑπονοίας καὶ τοῖς γνησίοις ἐγγέγραπται, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ πῦρ τὸ οὐράνιον ἡ τοῦ γένους ἀδέκαστός τε καὶ ἄγραπτος ἀληθῶς ἐγγραφή ἐστιν: Ailianos, Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος, book 2, ch. 26.

58 Ἐς γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐγγραφέντος: Cassius Dio 77.9.4.

59 S.D. Smith, Man and animal in Severan Rome. The literary imagination of Claudius Aelianus. Cambridge 2014, 239 – 420.

berges, although not explicitly mentioning the eagle's eyes, bases his comparison of Isaakios II and Alexios IV as eagle and eaglet on the assumption of a specific, congenital legitimacy.

While the examples discussed up to now clearly point towards ideas of genealogical transfer, there is, however, a considerable group of examples depicting the emperors and their descendants as lions and lion cubs without any further explanation.[60] Many of them are set in the context of war, praising the emperors and their sons as leonine fighters. In an oration by Theodoros Prodromos from 1139, Ioannes II is addressed as the "undefeated emperor [...], firebringer to the barbarians, [...] cub of the noble lion, lion of four cubs."[61] Ioannes who led large military campaigns towards Seljuk Anatolia, Cilicia and Frankish Antioch doubtlessly earned the epithet of a belligerent lion.[62] By further mentioning the four lion cubs and the parental lion, Prodromos expands the image of the warrior-ruler to Ioannes' father Alexios I, who had also gained the fame of being a brave military leader, and to Ioannes' sons Alexios, Andronikos, Isaakios and Manuel, who accompanied him on his eastern campaigns. Even without explicit mention of a similarity between the heirs and their imperial fathers, it is obvious that the lion imagery implies a natural transmission of outstanding military abilities and, more general, the qualification to rule from Alexios I to Ioannes II and further down to his sons.

In some instances, the image of the lion-dynasty is supported by the depiction of the ruling dynasty as a plant that produces new shoots, meaning new offspring. In the 1150s "Manganeios" Prodromos addresses Ioannes II's son and

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60 Ioannes II and his sons as a lion family: Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte, ed. W. Hörandner. *WBS*, 11. Wien 1974, no. 16, 277:1 – 5 and no. 17, 293:211 – 214. Ioannes II. and his son Alexios: Michel Italikos, Lettres (as footnote 38 above), no. 43, 258: 13 – 17. Ioannes II and Manuel I: ibid. no. 44, 294: 9 – 18; Theodoros Prodromos, ibid. no. 19, 314:142 – 148 and no. 20, 320:27; "Manganeios" Prodromos, poem no. 1, ed. E. Miller, Poèmes historiques de Théodore Prodrome. *Revue Archéologique N.S.* 25 (1873) 345:171; no. 2, ed. E. Miller, Poèmes historiques de Théodore Prodrome. *Revue Archéologique N.S.* 26 (1873) 24: 210 – 215; no. 8, ed. E. Miller, Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens grecs, II. Paris 1881, 231:140 – 142; no. 16, ed. S. Bernardinello, Theodori Prodromi de Manganis. Padua 1972, 6:2; no. 18, ibid. 40:5; no. 20, ed. Miller 1881, 757: 536 – 541; no. 25:58 – 61, transl. in Magdalino, Empire (as footnote 45 above) 448; no. 27, ed. I. Rácz, Bizánci Költemények Mánuel Császár Magyar Hadjáratairól. Budapest 1941, 24:28. Manuel I and Alexios II: see Gregorios Antiochos, Laudatio funebris (as footnote 44 above) 224:9 – 13.

61 Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἀήττητε, … πυρφόρε τοῖς βαρβάροις, / … σκύμνε γενναίου λέοντος, λέον τεττάρων σκύμνων: Theodoros Prodromos, ibid. no. 16, 277:1 – 5.

62 See R.-J. Lilie, Byzantium and the Crusader states 1096 – 1204. Oxford 1993, 100; 117 – 138; F. Chalandon, Les Comnène. Études sur l'empire byzantin au XIe et au XIIe siècles, II/1. Paris 1912, 77 – 91.

successor Manuel I as “shoot of the purple blossom [or: of the purple-born], truly, and purple flower [or: flower of the *Porphyra*], / but [also] eagle of the purple [or: of the *Porphyra*], yes, this, too, befits you, / but also cub of a lion, [...].”[63] Here, too, there is no explicit reference to the concept of the immutability of species with regard to the lion. The idea, however, is clearly indicated by the plant imagery. With the imperial family as a “purple plant” and Emperor Manuel its latest shoot, the image implies an unaltered “organic” continuation of imperial rule, just as it is the case with the lion king and its offspring.

The same parallelisation of floral and faunal imagery can be found in a poem by Theodoros Prodromos already in the Summer of 1142, calling Ioannes’ fourth born son Manuel a “sprout of the holy purple [or: the holy *Porphyra*]” and “cub of the all-daring lion”, in reference to his noble descent and, maybe, already supporting the prince as a candidate to become the future emperor, despite the claims of his older brothers.[64] The imagery of the purple plant and the lineage of the lion both refer to the dynasty *and* the empire itself, rhetorically fusing the Komnenian (core-) family with the imperial office and presenting their rule as a natural continuum.

Further conceptualizations of lion and lion cub: religious and transcendental readings

The comparison with the lion and its offspring, however, was not limited to the genealogical perspective alone. The combined image also appears prominently in various religious-transcendental interpretations, giving it special meaning

63 Πορφυροβλάστου βλάστημα, ναὶ καὶ πορφύρας ἄνθος, / ἀλλὰ πορφύρας ἀετόν, ναί σοι καὶ τοῦτο πρέπον, / ἀλλὰ καὶ σκύμνον λέοντος: “Manganeios” Prodromos, poem no. 6 in S. Bernardinello, Sicilia e normanni in Teodoro Prodromo, in: Byzantino-Sicula II. Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Guiseppe Rossi Taibbi. Palermo 1975, 70:226 – 229. For the purple as the imperial colour and the concept of *porphyrogennesis* as a marker for the emperor’s legitimate heirs see G. Dagron, Nés dans la pourpre. *TM* 12 (1994) 105 – 142, and especially for its new emphasis in the Komnenian time Magdalino, Empire (as footnote 45 above) 244.
64 Ὦ νέε κλάδε Μανουὴλ τῆς ἱερᾶς πορφύρας / ... / σκύμνε παντόλμου λέοντος: Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (as footnote 60 above) no. 20, 320: 25 – 27. For the dating see ibid., 322. See also the slightly earlier poem no. 19, 314:142 – 143: Manuel as “purple-born third sebastokrator, not in inferiority of rank, but of age.” Manuel’s brothers Alexios and Andronikos died in the course of 1142, while accompanying their father Ioannes on his eastern campaign, leaving Manuel with his older brother Isaakios. For the interpretation of Theodoros Prodromos as an early supporter of Manuel as emperor see Magdalino, Empire 434.

for the concept of sacred kingship, in eschatology, and in the discourse on death and resurrection. These additional layers have to be considered as well, in order to understand the full functional range of lion and lion cub in the examined passages. The key figure is the so-called “Lion of Judah”, originating in Genesis 49:8 – 10, where Judah, the ancestor of Solomon, David and Christ himself, is associated with the lion and the lion cub:

> Judah, your brothers shall praise you! Your hands are on the back of your enemies; your father’s children will reverently bow down before you. Judah is a lion cub: from a shoot, my son, you grew up. When you laid down, you slept like a lion and like a cub: Who shall awaken him? The [office of the] ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from his thighs, until that, which is reserved for him, shall come, and he himself is the expectation of the peoples.[65]

This passage is taken up by the gospels of Luke and Matthew, who see Christ as the fulfilment of the prophecy: “[…] the Lord God will give him the throne of his father David, and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever […].”[66] The Book of Revelation presents Christ as the new “lion of the tribe of Judah, the [shoot from the] root of David […].”[67] Lion and lion cub connect the biblical kings, among them David and Salomon, with Christ himself, all of them major role models for the Byzantine imperial image.[68] It is, therefore, likely that mentions of lion and lion cub in imperial panegyrics not only point towards the genealogical model discussed above, but also refer to the Lion of Judah as an ideal type for legitimate imperial rule. An unequivocal case for the use of “σκύμνος λέοντος” in that double sense can be found in an oration by “Manganeios” Prodromos for Emperor Manuel I in 1151 or 1152:

> Νῦν τοῦ Δαυὶδ αἰσθάνομαι καὶ πάλιν μελῳδοῦντος,
> Νεώτερος ἐν ἥλιξιν ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός μου
> Ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσφατος υἱὸς μικρὸς ἐν ἀδελφοῖς μου,
> Ἀλλ᾽ ἔχρισέ με Κύριος Αὐσόνων βασιλέα,
> Οἵτινες νέος Ἰσραὴλ κτητὸς ἠγορασμένος,

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65 My own translation from the text of the Septuagint.
66 Lk 1:32. See also Mt 2:5 – 6.
67 Re 5:5.
68 For the biblical kings as role models of the imperial image see C. Rapp, Old Testament models for emperors in early Byzantium, in P. Magdalino / R. Nelson (eds.), The Old Testament in Byzantium. Washington, D.C. 2010, 175 – 197; G. Dagron, Emperor and priest. The imperial office in Byzantium. Cambridge 2003, 49 – 51 and V. Tsamakda, König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers, in F. Daim / J. Drauschke (eds.), Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter I: Welt der Ideen, Welt der Dinge. Mainz 2010, 23 – 54.

> Καὶ σκύμνος ὢν τοῦ λέοντος ἐν σκύμνοις ὤφθην λέων.'
> Σοὶ ταῦτα πρέπει τῷ Χριστῷ σοὶ τῷ Δαυὶδ τῷ νέῳ.
>
> Now I understand [the words] of David who sings again, 'Younger than the comrades in my father's house, I am the [most] recent small son among my brothers, but the Lord anointed me emperor of the Ausones [= the Romans; T.S.], who [are] the newly acquired Israel, and while I am a cub of a lion, I appear like a lion among cubs.' This befits you, the Christ, the new David.[69]

The speech refers to David's psalm 151 LXX:

> I was small among my brothers / and the youngest in my father's house; / [...] The Lord [...] anointed me with the oil of his anointment. / My brothers [were] beautiful and big, / and yet the Lord was not well pleased with them.

The mention of David's older brothers is an obvious reference to Manuel's problematic ascension to the throne and the claims of his older brother Isaakios.[70] With King David, "Manganeios" chooses a legitimizing precedent: although being the youngest of his father's sons, *he* had been chosen by God to become king. The lion (of Judah) is not mentioned in David's psalm. Its addition by "Manganeios" highlights further the parallelism of Manuel and David as legitimate, God-chosen rulers.

Already in 1141, Theodoros Prodromos had praised Manuel as "purple-born third *sebastokrator*, not in inferiority of rank, but of age; cub of the mighty lion [...]" who "showed whose seedling and root you were, when you alarmed the Persians with your roar alone [...]"[71] – another clear allusion to Gen 49, the Lion of Judah, and likely a model for the poem of "Manganeios" Prodromos.[72] The references to the Lion of Judah, however, do not exclude the genealogical reading in terms of a natural similarity between father and son. Especially the latter pas-

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69 "Manganeios" Prodromos, poem no. 1, ed. Miller 1873a (as footnote 60 above) 255:121–125; 344:126–127. The interpunction given by Miller and reproduced here is unclear, since it is not apparent where the citation of David begins and where it turns into Manuel's statement about himself.

70 See also the speech by Michael Italikos discussed above.

71 Πορφυρογέννητε σεβαστοκράτωρ τρίτε / οὐκ ἐν ὑφέσει τῆς τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡλικίας· / ἀλκίμου σκύμνε λέοντος ... ἔδειξας, τίνος φύτευμα καὶ ῥίζωμα τυγχάνεις, / ἐκ μόνης ἐμβοήσεως τὸ Περσικὸν φοβήσας: Theodoros Prodromos, Gedichte (as footnote 60 above) no. 19, 314:142–144;149–151, trans. in Magdalino, Empire, 434.

72 For the stylistic dependence of "Manganeios" Prodromos from Theodoros Prodromos see A. Rhoby, Verschiedene Bemerkungen zur Sebastokratissa Eirene und zu Autoren in ihrem Umfeld. *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009) 305–336, at 315.

sage that depicts Manuel as a worthy descendant of his lion-like father Ioannes clearly shows that both readings go hand in hand.

The description of Judah as "the expectation of the peoples" in Gen 49.10 opens up a further interpretation of lion and lion cub as symbols for eschatological saviours. Isaiah compares God with a lion and a lion cub, protecting Jerusalem from its enemies, before a kingdom of peace begins.[73] Several 9th century eschatological prophecies attributed to Daniel, all of them reworkings of the famous Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios, use the image of lion and lion cub as symbols for *the* or *a* Last Emperor who appears after the empire has been overrun by the Muslims and drives them out.[74] One of them is the so called "vision of Daniel on the last time and the end of the world", written probably in the 860s.[75] The text states that after "a son of Ismael" had begun to ravage the Roman Empire, there would appear a new ruler who should destroy the Muslim power. Together with the mysterious "blond peoples" he will "pursue Ismael into his lands. And fulfilled will be [the word] that the 'lion[76] and lion cub will pursue the wild ass.'"[77] Similar versions of this prophecy are found in two earlier 9th century texts, the so-called "Logos of our holy father Ioannes Chrysostomos from the visions of Daniel"[78] and a Slavonic vision of Daniel, probably translated from a Greek original.[79]

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73 Is 31,4 – 5.

74 For the visions of Daniel and the idea of a Last Emperor see P.J. Alexander, The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1985, 60 – 95; 151 – 184; with a focus on Jerusalem, W. Brandes, Endzeiterwartung im Jahre 1009 a.D.?, in Th. Pratsch (ed.), Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009. *Millennium Studies*, 32. Berlin / Boston 2011, 301 – 320, here 305 – 311; and with a focus on Constantinople P. Magdalino, Prophecies on the fall of Constantinople, in A. Laiou (ed.), Urbs capta. The Fourth Crusade and its consequences. *Réalités byzantines*, 10. Paris 2005, 41 – 54, here 43 – 44.

75 Edited in H. Schmoldt, Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniels letzte Vision." Hamburg 1972, 202 – 219, dated in Alexander, Tradition 94.

76 In some versions of this prophecy, the extant texts speak of lion whelp and "dog" ("κύων") instead of a "lion" ("λέων"): E. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Halle 1898, 123; Alexander, Tradition, ibid. 152 note 4.

77 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολύσει πρέσβεις εἰς τὰ ξανθὰ γένη, καὶ ὁμοῦ διώξουσι τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ εἰς τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν. καὶ πληρωθήσεται ὅτι λέων καὶ σκύμνος ὁμοῦ διώξουσιν <ὄναγρον>: Schmoldt, Schrift, ibid. 206:5 – 8. This ruler, however, is not yet the last emperor. One of his successors will go to Jerusalem and cede his rule to Christ.

78 Edited in Schmoldt, Schrift 220 – 236, dated in the 840s. See Alexander, Tradition 76.

79 Dated in the 820s. See Alexander, Tradition 64. For further prophecies from the Christian East (Ethiopian, Syriac, Arabic) containing lions as symbols for eschatological saviours see Jäckel, Herrscher (as footnote 34 above) 248 – 260.

That these visions entered political discourse at the imperial court becomes clear from Liutprand of Cremona's *relatio* about his embassy to Constantinople in 968. Reporting a contemporary Byzantine interpretation of lion and lion cub as Nikephoros II and the king of the Franks driving out the Saracens, he confronts this with his own reading of Otto I and Otto II as leonine victors over the "wild ass" Nikephoros II.[80] Although there are no direct references to these prophecies in Byzantine court texts of the 12th c., it is well known that Alexios I, Ioannes II, possibly Manuel I and definitely Isaakios II were aware of legends about the Last Emperor, stylized themselves as saviours from the Muslim threat and planned to personally visit Jerusalem.[81] Western rulers as well, like Robert Guiscard, Louis VII of France and Frederick I Barbarossa, who travelled across the empire on crusades to Palestine or, like Guiscard, were involved in military conflict with the Byzantines, knew the prophecies of the Last Emperor, who, coming from the west, would conquer the city of Constantinople before moving on to Jerusalem.[82]

In this context, one has to take into consideration the intense military activities of the Byzantine rulers against their eastern Muslim neighbours, particularly the campaigns of Ioannes II and Manuel I to Syria, in the course of which both emperors had been stylized as champions of Christianity in official propaganda, both encomia and international correspondence.[83] Taking together

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80 Liutprand, Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana, ed. P. Chiesa, Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera Omnia. *CC*, 156. Turnhout 1998, 185 – 218, here ch. 40 – 41, 204:625 – 205:680. For this see also Jäckel, Herrscher, ibid. 31 – 35.

81 A reference to a prophecy attributing the role of the Last Emperor to Alexios I is provided by Ioannes Zonaras. Plans to move to Jerusalem are reported for Ioannes II. Isaakios II considered himself the liberator of Palestine who would expel the Muslims and who would rule for 32 years, the number of years usually attributed to the rule of the Last Emperor. See P. Magdalino, The end of time in Byzantium, in W. Brandes / F. Schmieder (eds.), Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen. Millennium-Studien, 16. Berlin / New York 2008, 119 – 133, here 131 and idem, Prophecies (as footnote 74 above) 47 – 53.

82 For Guiscard and Louis VII see Magdalino, Prophecies, ibid. 47 – 51; for Barbarossa see Th. Foerster, Der Prophet und der Kaiser. Staufische Herrschaftsvorstellungen am Ende des 12. Jahrhundert, in S. Burkhard / Th. Metz / S. Weinfurter (eds.), Staufisches Kaisertum im 12. Jahrhundert. Konzepte – Netzwerke – politische Praxis. Regensburg 2010, 253 – 276, here 257. See furthermore a 12th century text applying the prophecy on lion and wild ass to Frederick fighting Manuel I in Byzantium: *De fine schismatis vaticinium*, ed. H. Böhmer in: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti, III. Hannover 1897, 561 – 570; discussed in Jäckel, Herrscher (as footnote 34 above) 42 – 45.

83 See Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (as footnote 60 above), no. 15, 273:51 – 60 (written in 1139): Emperor Ioannes II punishes the sinful Danishmend Emir Mohammed and God elevates the Christians through the emperor. See also Euthymios Malakes who stylizes Man-

the presence of eschatological prophecies at the Byzantine court, the military activity of the emperors in the east as well as the ideological competition with western rulers and crusaders,[84] it becomes highly likely that the image of lion and lion cub in the imperial encomia was promoted by the prophecies of leonine saviours and Last Emperors. Consequently, it does not come as a surprise that most of the instances where the image of lion and lion cub is applied to the emperor are related to their eastern campaigns: Michael Italikos calls Ioannes II's son Alexios, who accompanied his father on the campaign to Asia Minor and Syria in 1138, a lion cub. Theodoros Prodromos describes Ioannes II and his sons during the eastern campaign in 1139 as a lion and lion cubs attacking the "Persians". In 1146, Manuel I is called a lion cub by "Manganeios" Prodromos, surpassing its lion father Ioannes II in war against the Seljuks and the Cilicians.[85]

A further major interpretation of the image of lion and lion cub to be considered here is their role in the context of death and resurrection. The basis is again Gen 49: "When you laid down, you slept like a lion and like a lion cub: who shall awaken him?"[86] According to the influential tradition of the *Physiologos*, lions sleep with their eyes open, whereas their cubs are born dead, to be awakened by their fathers after three days. Both "facts" are interpreted metaphorically with regard to the resurrection of Christ who is said to have been dead and awake at the same time for three days.[87] Besides his imperial orations, Theodoros Prodromos has left numerous epitaphs where he uses the image of lion and lion cub in exactly this sense: in an *epitaphios logos* for Michael Palaiologos, the deceased is described as an "insufferable lion for the barbarians" that now lies down, and "suffers something unbecoming of lions, namely, to close his eyes

uel I in 1175 as the avenger of the Christian faith which had been supressed by the Muslim Seljuks. Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη ... Τὰ σῳζόμενα II, ed. K. Mpones. Athens 1949, 539:31 – 540:1. See furthermore Manuel I's letter to pope Alexander III in he end of 1175, describing his campaign against Seljuk Ikonion in 1176 as a fight for Christendom and a venture to open the pilgrimage route to the Holy Land, ed. in M.-J.-J. Brial / L. Delisle, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, 15. Paris 1878, 952e–954a.

84 For this last point see Magdalino, Prophecies (as footnote 74 above) 50 – 51 who uses it as an explanation for the self-stylization of the Byzantine rulers as Last Emperors.

85 Michel Italikos, Lettres (as footnote 38 above) no. 44, 294: 9 – 18; Theodoros Prodromos, ibid. no. 17, 293:211 – 214; "Manganeios" Prodromos, poem no. 20, ed. Miller 1881 (as footnote 60 above) 757: 536 – 541. For further examples of this image with regard to eastern campaigns see above, p. 976 note 60.

86 See above, p. 978 note 65.

87 Sbordone, Physiologus (as footnote 8 above), 1st redaction, 5:1 – 8:2; 2nd redaction, 149:3 – 152:2; 3rd redaction, 259:1 – 260:4.

[while sleeping]."[88] In a funeral oration for the *Megas Dux* Stephanos Kontostephanos, Prodromos describes him as a "cub of noble-born, three-times brave lions", whereas Alexios, the son of the deceased *Sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos is a "small cub from the lion's loins".[89]

Here, lion and lion cub possess again a double meaning: on the one hand they highlight the outstanding military abilities of the commemorated and connect these to their ancestors. Just as the lion always produces cubs as vigorous and brave as itself, the aristocratic warrior descends from a lineage of warriors. On the other hand, they refer to the "resurrected" lion (cub) from the *Physiologos*, expressing the hope for an afterlife. In an imperial context, this double meaning is exemplified in Gregorios Antiochos' funeral oration for Emperor Manuel I (1181). As mentioned above, Antiochos compares the deceased emperor's son, Alexios II, to an eaglet and a lion cub, who, although young and imperfect, already shows its father's qualities.[90] In a further passage, Antiochos repeats this argument, connecting it explicitly with the image of the sleeping and waiting lion from Gen 49:

> ναὶ μὲν ὁ τεκὼν βασιλεὺς λέων ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθη, καὶ τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀφῆκε τὸν ἐκ βλαστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντα σκύμνον πατρώζοντα τὴν ἀλκὴν […]
>
> Yes, the parental imperial lion has lied down and fallen asleep, and who will awaken it? But he sent us this cub, grown from his root, which, regarding strength, takes after the father […][91]

This passage exemplifies what has already been noticed in the previous examples: the idea of lion and lion cub as a model for the unaltered reproduction of outstanding qualities remains a decisive element in the interpretation of each of these passages. This reading, however, is paralleled by further conceptualizations of this image that had developed independently in other discourses. Lion and lion cub, as they are presented in the texts examined, thus provide an image connoted in multiple ways that joins together several meanings and enables the authors and orators to convey various messages in one semantic expression, showing an innovative treatment of existing concepts and images.

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88 Κεῖσαι δ' ὑπνῶν, ἄστεκτε βαρβάροις λέον, / ἓν τοῦτο πάσχων οὐ λεοντῶδες, μύων: Theodoros Prodromos, Gedichte, no. 66, 504:14–15. Prodromos' *epitaphios logos* for Konstantinos Kamytzes uses the same expression, see ibid. no. 64a, 497:7–8.
89 Σκύμνῳ λεόντων εὐγενῶν τρισαλκίμων: Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (as footnote 60 above) no. 50, 440:10; σκυμνίσκε μικρὲ τῆς λέοντος ὀσφύος: Ibid. no. 45, 418:128.
90 See above, p. 972.
91 Gregorios Antiochos, Laudatio funebris (as footnote 44 above) 225:12–14.

Other "animal lineages"?

There are but a few passages in the examined texts where other animal species are used in a comparable way to lion and lion cub or eagle and eagle chick. Theodoros Prodromos, for example, calls Emperor Manuel I a "chick of a golden peacock" and "a high-flying falcon's child", an image of his father Ioannes, who acts with a strong arm, but also a generous hand.[92] The "beautiful chick of a swift-winged falcon" is repeated in another poem, this time referring to Alexios, son of the *Sebastokrator* Andronikos who "from birth on shows the strength of its wings" and is "naturally suited for the hunt." Alexios is furthermore addressed as the "child of the partner-loving chaste [and] revered dove" and, just as Manuel I, a "chick of a golden peacock."[93] Much later, Georgios Tornikes uses the image of the phoenix to express the reproduction of Anna Komnena in her daughter Eirene.[94]

The falcons applied to Manuel and Alexios doubtlessly represent the paternal virtues as hunters and warriors. In this respect, they are comparable to the mighty eagles and the fierce lions which represent the martial virtues of the emperor and the aristocracy. This confirms two things: first, that the imagery of "animal-lineages" is really based on the general idea of a continuous reproduction within *any* animal species. This approach is not limited to the lion and eagle, although these two appear much more often in this kind of imagery than all other species. Second, whereas the idea of a transmission of legitimacy on the throne dominates the imperial speeches, the falcons here as well as the lions in the funerary speeches reflect common aristocratic values above all: the emphasis on "family virtues" given from one generation to the next is totally in line with the importance of aristocratic families and ancestry at that time, whereas the focus on martial virtues and hunting reflects most important aspects of aristocratic self-representation at the Komnenian court.[95]

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92 Ἀλκίμου σκύμνε λέοντος, στρουθὲ χρυσοῦ ταῶνος, / ὑψιπετοῦς ἱέρακος αἰθεροδρόμον τέκνον, / ἀπὸ στρατάρχου στρατηγέ, γενναῖε στρατιῶτα, / τῶν πατρικῶν εἰκόνισμα καὶ τρόπων καὶ χαρίτων / καὶ τοῦ στερροῦ βραχίονος καὶ τῆς ἁδρᾶς παλάμης: Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (as footnote 60 above) no. 19, 314:144 – 148.

93 Ἱέρακος ταχυπετοῦς νεόττιον ὡραῖον, / ἐμφαῖνον ἐκ τοῦ τοκετοῦ τὰς πτητικὰς δυνάμεις / καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄγραν εὐφυὲς ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων, / φιλομοζύγου σώφρονος σεμνῆς τρυγόνος γόνε, / … / χρυσοῦ ταῶνος γόνε …: ibid. no. 44, 409:135 – 141.

94 Georgios Tornikes: George et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours, ed. J. Darrouzès. Paris 1970, no. 14, 315:20 – 317:13.

95 For these values among 12th c. aristocracy see below, p. 986, notes 99 and 100.

The images of peacock, dove and phoenix, however, are of a different nature. In Prodromos' speeches, the former two rather serve the praise of Manuel's and Alexios' parents: the peacock is strongly associated with the feminine, being an attribute of the goddess Juno and an important element already in the commemorative imagery of Roman empresses. From a Christian perspective it represents eternal life and the beauty of creation.[96] Here, it should probably represent the beauty and life-giving power of the respective mothers. The same is true for the image of the dove as a symbol for the partner-loving and loyal *Sebastokratissa* Eirene,[97] whereas Tornikes' phoenix is meant as a symbol for reincarnation of an imperial or rather aristocratic lady's virtues in her daughter. Not all mentions of animals and their children, therefore, apply to the model of an unaltered reproduction of traits.

The fact that the lion and eagle are so dominant, compared to other animals, can be related to reasons both on the symbolic level and regarding the textual transmission. On the one hand, this paper shows the literary lion as a "multi-role-tool", due to its multi-layered conceptualization. It is not only applicable in a context of imperial power, but also in the representation of the ideal warrior and in funerary contexts. The representation of model-warriors like Digenis Akritas and the Homeric heroes made it especially appealing not only for the emperor, but for the aristocratic elite in general, which might explain its popularity. On the other hand, far more imperial encomia have been handed down to us than aristocratic ones. This might cause the overrepresentation of eagles – almost exclusively related to the emperor in the political context – and lions as *the* representatives of imperial authority in Byzantium. It is possible that aristocratic poetry might have contained more animals, for example from the hunting context (like falcons and hounds), which played a major role in aristocratic representation of the time.[98]

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96 Maguire, Earth (as footnote 7 above) 39 – 40. The peacock also appears on a number of pieces of middle Byzantine jewellery, which had probably been worn predominantly by women. See A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck des 9. bis frühen 13. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zum metallenen dekorativen Körperschmuck der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit anhand datierter Funde. *Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz*, 28. Wiesbaden 2011, 125a–133a.

97 For the dove as a symbol of conjugal love see M. P. Ciccarese, Animali simbolici alle origini del bestiario cristiano, I. Bologna 2002, 335.

98 For the representation of hunting dogs in 12th c. imperial and aristocratic poetry see T. Schmidt, Noble hounds for aristocrats, stray dogs for heretics. Evaluation and connotation of literary dogs in Byzantium, in T. Schmidt / J. Pahlitzsch (eds.), Impious dogs, haughty foxes and exquisite fish. Evaluative perception and interpretation ofanimals in ancient and medieval Mediterranean thought. Berlin / Boston 2019, 103 – 132.

The imagery of "animal lineages" in its historic context

In general terms, the purpose of the animal "lineages" in the aristocratic as well as the imperial encomia is to relate outstanding qualities of a person to qualities inherent in their family. Reflecting the importance of ancestry and family within the aristocracy, including the imperial family, the imagery discussed here can be regarded as a literary response to current norms and values present in court society.[99] Moreover, nearly all the images of stout lions, mighty eagles and swift-winged falcons represent military abilities, which fits the general self-representation of 12th c. aristocrats, who held martial values in high esteem, compared themselves to mythic and legendary warriors and stylized themselves as courageous hunters.[100] However, the vast evidence for the importance of lineage and military values in imperial and aristocratic self-representation of the late 11th and 12th c., to which the imagery discussed here definitely belonged, does not imply that this was a new phenomenon.[101] Although the availability of earlier sources is way less favourable, these values can be traced already among the elite of the preceding centuries, especially in the milieu of the Anatolian aristocracy of the 9th and 10th c, if not earlier.[102] The imagery presented here rather reflects how late 11th and 12th c. authors and orators expressed and, by referring to the laws of nature, further consolidated the values present in their society.

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99 For the importance of ancestry see M. Grünbart, Inszenierung und Repräsentation der byzantinischen Aristokratie vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert. *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften*, 82. Paderborn 2015, 28–32; 34–36; 41–46.

100 For the importance of martial virtues in aristocratic and imperial representation of the 12th c. see A. Kazhdan, The aristocracy and the imperial ideal, in M. Angold (ed.), The Byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries. *BAR*, 221. Oxford 1984, 43–57; Magdalino, Empire (as footnote 45 above) 420–421. For Manuel I as the model warrior in encomia and historiography see A. Simpson, Niketas Choniates. A historiographical study. Oxford 2013, 149–150; for the "ideology of warfare" in the descriptions of Ioannes II see ibid., 231–232; for aristocratic hunting activities as a status indicator and an opportunity to display martial qualities see A.K. Sinakos, Το κυνήγι κατά τη μέση βυζαντινή εποψή (7ος–12ος αι.)," in I. Anagnostakis / T.G. Kolias / E. Papadopoulou (eds.), Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7ος–12ος αι.). Athens 2011, 71–86 and Grünbart, Inszenierung (as footnote 99 above) 198–205.

101 As has been stated by A. Kazhdan / A.W. Epstein, Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 1985, 103–110.

102 See J.-C. Cheynet, L'aristocratie byzantine (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle). *Journal des Savants* 2000, 281–322, here 284–290, who explicitly discusses Kazhdan's ideas.

In the much better documented imperial context, the embedding of the imagery into the socio-political background of the period under analysis can be illuminated in even more detail by examining the distribution of these images over time. In terms of frequency, the lion surpasses the eagle. However, three quarters of the passages containing lion and lion cubs examined here are from works written by Theodoros Prodromos and "Manganeios" Prodromos, between the late 1130s to the 1150s. From the same period are the passages from Michael Italikos. Gregorios Antiochos used the image later, in the 1180s, while Theophylaktos of Ochrid used it earlier. The peak of popularity was, at least according to the fragmentary evidence of the sources, in the late reign of Ioannes II and the early reign of Manuel I. Interestingly, neither Theodoros nor "Manganeios" Prodromos refer to the eagle-"lineage". This image appears, however, in a large number of other authors, continuously over the whole timespan under analysis: Theophylaktos of Ochrid, Nikephoros Basilakes, Michael Italikos, Eustathios of Thessalonike and Nikephoros Chrysoberges.

Analysing the appearance of the images in imperial speeches from a diachronic perspective, a clear correlation to situations of transition on the throne and the need of a new ruler to consolidate his legitimation becomes apparent. The following table shows the chronological distribution of the orations containing the imagery of lion- and eagle lineages:

Alexios I (1081 – 1118) → Ioannes II (1118 – 1143)

Theophylaktos of Ochrid, 1088:

Discours (as footnote 35 above) 235:7 – 14.

Ioannes II (1118 – 1143) → Manuel I (1143 – 1180) (selection)

Theodoros Prodromos, 1141:

Historische Gedichte (as footnote 60 above) no. 19, 312:73 – 75; 314:142 – 151.

Ibid. no. 20, 320:25 – 27.

Michael Italikos, 1143:

Lettres (as footnote 38 above) no. 44, 278:18 – 23; 294:9 – 18.

"Manganeios" Prodromos, 1146:

poem no. 25, ll. 58 – 61, transl. in Magdalino, Empire 448.

"Manganeios Prodromos", 1149:

poem no. 6 in Bernardinello, Sicilia (as footnote 60 above) 70:226 – 229.

"Manganeios" Prodromos, 1151/52:

poem no. 1, ed. Miller 1873a (as footnote 60 above) 255:121 – 125; 344:126 – 127.

poem no. 2, ed. Miller 1873b (as footnote 60 above) 24: 210 – 215.

Manuel I (1143 – 1180) → Alexios II (1180 – 1183)

Eustathios of Thessalonike, 1180:

ed. Wirth (as footnote 1 above) no. 11, 190:77 – 84.

Gregorios Antiochos, 1181:

Laudatio funebris (as footnote 46 above) 224:22 – 225:3.

Isaakios II (1185 – 1195; 1203 – 1204) → Alexios IV (1203 – 1204)

Nikephoros Chrysoberges, 1203:

ed. Treu (as footnote 46 above) no. 3, 25:7 – 8; 15 – 22.

In his speech for Alexios I, Theophylaktos of Ochrid addresses an emperor whose family had no established imperial dynastic tradition when he came to power in 1081 and who had ascended to the throne by usurping against his predecessor Nikephoros III.[103] Immediately before the passage discussing the birth of Ioannes, Theophylaktos mentions a failed conspiracy against Alexios by an unidentified person who pretended to be of imperial lineage – a clear sign that Komnenian rule was anything but unchallenged.[104] With the image of Alexios and his first born son as eagle/eaglet and lion/lion cub, Theophylaktos strongly promotes the idea of a new dynastic succession, which, since the end of the Macedonian dynasty, had come somewhat out of use. The imagery was meant to stage Alexios and his offspring as *the* legitimate ruling family who, again, follow a "natural" and, according to the rules of the *kosmos*, necessary continuity on the throne. It was, as shown above, also meant to safeguard Theophylaktos' own position, after the former prospects of his pupil Konstantinos Dukas to become Alexios' heir had come to naught.

Theodoros Prodromos started working for Ioannes II in the early 1130s. The lion-imagery applied to the emperor and his sons is a clear positioning for the core-family of Ioannes. Up to then, Prodromos had worked mainly for the former Empress Eirene Dukaina as well as for her daughter Anna and Anna's husband

103 Furthermore, his conquest of Constantinople had been regarded a "no-go" by many contemporaries and undermined his legitimation. For this argument see the doctoral thesis by J.V. de Medeiros Publio Dias, The political opposition to Alexios I Komnenos (1081 – 1118). Mainz 2017.

104 Théophylacte d'Achrida, Discours (as footnote 35 above) 115. The conspiracy mentioned here cannot be identified. See Gautier, ibid. 107 and 126. See also Cheynet, Pouvoir (as footnote 102 above) no. 122, p. 95, who suspects a Pseudo-Diogenes (alleged son of Romanos IV Diogenes) to be the protagonist of the conspiracy, and p. 90 – 103 for further conspiracies during Alexios' reign. For the competition within the ruling family see also P. Frankopan, Kinship and the distribution of power in Komnenian Byzantium. *The English Historical Review* 122 (2007) 1 – 34.

Nikephoros Bryennios.[105] Although, as Neville has convincingly argued, Niketas Choniates' report on Anna's attempt to stir up Bryennios against Ioannes II is highly doubtful,[106] there is evidence for real tensions as well as rumours about competing claims within the inner power circle before and after Alexios' death.[107] Generally, the existence of several branches within the expanding Komnenian family set favourable grounds for internal competition that could easily turn into political rivalry.[108] In this light, Prodromos' emphasis on the preeminence of Ioannes' lineage has to be seen not only as the usual support of a court orator for the ruling emperor's claims to the throne, but also as a personal statement of allegiance to his new patron and his descendants.

When Ioannes' son Manuel I became emperor, his position was in particular need of legitimation, due to the claims of his older brother Isaakios.[109] The frequent imagery of lion and lion cub by the two Prodromoi, but also by Michael Italikos at the beginning of his reign clearly reflects this need. Particularly the Lion of Judah, connecting Manuel to the role model of young David, played an important role, but also the presentation of the new emperor as his father's natural equivalent who guarantees the continuation of a stable and successful rule.

Manuel's son and heir Alexios II faced different, but no less grave difficulties concerning his legitimation when his father had died in 1180. At that time he was in a weak position, due to his very young age of about eleven years. In an episode of Niketas Choniates' historiographical work, Alexios is severely criticized

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105 For Prodromos' career see E. Jeffreys, Literary trends in the Constantinopolitan courts in the 1120s and 1130s, in A. Bucossi / A. Rodriguez Suarez (eds.), John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium. In the shadow of father and son. Milton Park / Abingdon / Oxford 2016, 117 – 118.
106 Niketas Choniates, Historia, ed. J. A. van Dieten. *CFHB*, 11/1. Berlin/New York 1975, 10:37 – 11:61. It is nevertheless possible that such an attempt around Nikephoros Bryennios did take place, although Nikephoros remained an important figure at the court of Ioannes II; see L. Neville, Anna Komnene. The life and work of a medieval Historian. Oxford 2016, 101 – 110, 150; idem, Heroes and Romans in twelfth-century Byztantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios. Cambridge 2012, 26 – 27.
107 Ioannes Zonaras explicitly mentions a rivalry between Eirene and Ioannes, with the latter fearing not only her, but also his siblings and his brother-in-law Bryennios as possible conspirators, briefly before Alexios passed away; see Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum, III, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst. Bonn 1897, 29, 8 – 10, p. 764, 1 – 5. For rumours circulating at court about claims of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios on the throne see Neville, Anna, ibid. 92 – 101, and idem, Romans, ibid. 24 – 26.
108 For rivalry and plots against Alexios, Ioannes and Manuel by their relatives see Cheynet, Pouvoir (as footnote 102 above) 105 – 110 413 – 414, and Frankopan, Kinship (as footnote 104 above) 14.
109 See above, p. 971.

for his age by his uncle Andronikos who uses this argument to foster his own claim to the throne.[110] Be this story factual or fictional, it reflects the inevitable problems of a child-ruler surrounded by older and more established personalities. The comparisons of Alexios with the eagle and lion at the end of and shortly after Manuel's reign have to be interpreted as attempts to legitimize the young ruler by emphasizing his potential to develop the same qualities as his father. A later use of such a legitimation strategy has been observed in the depiction of Alexios IV and Isaakios II as an eaglet and eagle by Nikephoros Chrysoberges in 1203. It is to be seen as a reaction to the bad reputation the new emperor had among the citizens of Constantinople, connecting Alexios to his father, who at least had been a generally acknowledged emperor before.

In the imperial context, Byzantine authors thus specifically referred to the model of "animal-lineages" in situations when the order of imperial succession had to be provided with special legitimation. The use of knowledge about the reproduction of animal species and the discussion about similar processes among humans was included in their political language, to claim not only a physical and behavioural fitness of the ruler's direct offspring, but also the heredity of social and political leadership. In a society where the modus of imperial succession had never been fixed, where the succession of the eldest son was commonplace, but by no means a determinate way to select the best and most legitimate emperor,[111] authors and orators looked for authoritative models.

They found them in the laws of "nature", of "God's creation". Referring to the unalterable reproduction of the kings of beasts, they presented the dynastic succession of the imperial office as a practice which was more natural and more appropriate than all others.[112] Other interpretative layers, referring to the eagle's test of its offspring or the lion's reference to Biblical kingship and eschatological saviours, provided further sources of legitimacy, not only for an individual ruler, but for the whole dynasty. The selection of the imagery presented here was therefore by no means mere literary embellishment, but a rhetoric strategy that was highly in tune with the pulse of current affairs during the period under analysis.

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110 Niketas Choniates, Historia, ibid. 273:8 – 13.

111 Dagron, Emperor and priest (as foornote 68 above) 21 – 48; D. Angelov, Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium, 1204 – 1330. Cambridge 2007, 123 – 133.

112 For the use of references to the animal world and the application of animal imagery in general as a means to legitimize the hegemony of a specific order over other possible orders, which then appears more natural and more sensible, see A. Kling, Die Tiere der politischen Theorie, in R. Borgards (ed.), Tiere. Kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch. Stuttgart 2016, 97b–110b, here 98b.

II. ABTEILUNG

Demetrios K. Agoritsas, Κωνσταντινούπολη. Η πόλη και η κοινωνία της στα χρόνια των πρώτων Παλαιολόγων (1261–1328). *Byzantina keimena kai meletai*, 62. Thessalonike, Kentro Byzantinon Ereunon 2016. 574 S. ISBN 978-960-785-654-8.

Constantinople was always the centre of the Eastern Roman Empire and at the same time effectively synonymous with Byzantium, not only in the eyes of the Byzantines themselves but also in the eyes of those who have studied it. Byzantine Constantinople has become fossilised in the historical memory as the medieval megalopolis par excellence thanks to its geographical location and the extent of the area contained within its walls.

The literature on this great city is extensive. In respect of the early and the middle Byzantine period especially, for which there is plenty of information from the written sources and recent archaeological finds, one can create a picture of the urban landscape of the capital and how it developed from its foundation as a Roman city up to the point where it emerged as a medieval city. Late Constantinople has been less well studied, as the relevant bibliography have focused on isolated surviving buildings (mainly churches) that are considered exceptions in an overall picture of decline. This bibliographical lacuna has been noted repeatedly and linked, among other things, with a lack of archaeological evidence.

With his book D. K. Agoritsas is aiming to fill that gap. The author has made it his objective to study Constantinople and Constantinopolitan society, while at the same time examining the internal policy employed by the first Palaiologoi from the perspective of the capital city as the seat of government. In other words Agoritsas' book is looking not just to describe the city itself, but also what Byzantium, with Constantinople at its heart, was like in that period.

Chapter 2 deals with the organisation of urban space and is preceded by a chapter on the recapture of Constantinople in 1261. In the second chapter the [re]construction agenda of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, the natural disasters that befell the city in the period under examination, the public spaces and the places in which the economic activities were carried on and, finally, the contribution made by individuals to redesigning the area (mainly through founding large monasteries and constructing mansions), is examined in individual subsections. The author is of the opinion that Constantinople had again acquired its cosmopolitan character thanks to the large number of people of different ethnicities (detailed in a separate chapter), who had settled there. However, he observes that, despite the size and the composition of its population, the public

events that were supposed to shape urban life and display the popular basis of the emperor's power had been severely restricted because of the unsatisfactory military and economic state of the regime.

Agoritsas lays special emphasis on Michael VIII's decision to reform the higher education by the re-establishment of the school of St Paul and to help the probable re-opening of the patriarchal school, linking the intense intellectual activity observable in that period with putting the libraries (i.e. the imperial and the patriarchal libraries) back again. There is more in-depth analysis of this intellectual activity in a separate chapter, with reference to the main contributors and their works; and the former are discussed once again in the last part of the book, where various aspects of life in the city are investigated.

The image of the City, given in encomia, rhetorical texts and travel narratives, is the subject of the next chapter, though a distinction is not always made between the places in the city that are still visible and hence describable and those that are being conjured up from the recent or more distant past in order to project Constantinople as the centre of the Oikoumene.

For the reader it is not at all clear why the author, having analysed the population (chapter 4), the organisation of the administration (chapter 5) and the way the political and ecclesiastical institutions functioned (chapter 6), waits until chapter 7 to examine the social stratification of the city (while there have been earlier sections about economic activity and the areas being developed or the building projects of individuals/aristocrats) and then goes on in chapter 8 with analysing the city's economic and financial activity. I think that if those two chapters, which seem essentially unconnected, were condensed into one section, it would allow the author to interpret the topography of Constantinople and the social changes in a more holistic fashion. Similarly chapter 6, in which the characters and the policies of the first Palaiologoi are examined, given that it does not relate specifically to the capital city, could have been cut down and inserted in chapter 1.

The last chapter (chapter 9) "Aspects of society" is, in my opinion, awkward, as can be seen from the headings of the sub-sections: a) The renaissance in education, b) Social networking (rivalries and antagonisms), c) Perceptions /mentalities/ behaviours (about marriage, anti-Latin feelings and imitation of Western models, magic and superstition, and the presence of saints in the city), d) The crisis of the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century and e) Perception of the crisis.

Agoritsas' book is extremely well documented with a bibliography that is bang up to date. In terms of the documentation and the bibliography each chapter is a separate study. In particular the chapters on the topography and the demographics of Constantinople constitute an important contribution to current

scholarship, as they assemble and codify all the available documentary and archaeological information on the City, a laborious task given the fragmentary nature of the sources. Yet I feel that this book could have been a real reference work if there had been an interpretational thread that connected up the individual topics that the author examines and explained why, apart from the fact that they all have something to do with Constantinople, he had chosen them.

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Livia Bevilacqua / Giovanni Gasbarri (eds.), Picturing a lost empire: an Italian lens on Byzantine art in Anatolia, 1960–2000. Exhibition catalogue (Istanbul, Arched Gallery, Koç University, ANAMED–Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, (June 1–December 31, 2018). Foreword by Chris Roosevelt / Eugenio Gaudio / Marina Righetti. Texts by Engin Akyürek / Claudia Barsanti / Livia Bevilacqua / Giovanni Gasbarri / Alessandra Guiglia / Antonio Iacobini / Andrea Paribeni / Lorenzo Riccardi / Enrico Zanini. Istanbul, ANAMED 2018. 228 p., 114 ills. ISBN 978-605-2116-49-4.

La cattedra di Storia dell'Arte Bizantina della Sapienza Università di Roma, istituita ufficialmente nel 1976 presso l'allora Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, è stata la prima in Italia dedicata a questo insegnamento; ne era titolare Fernanda de' Maffei, che già dal 1973 teneva dei corsi di Arte bizantina sia pure nell'ambito degli insegnamenti di Storia dell'Arte Medievale.[1] Vent'anni dopo, nel 1996, nasceva il Centro di Documentazione di Storia dell'Arte Bizantina (CDSAB), realizzato da Mara Bonfioli, succeduta su quella cattedra nel 1990. E il 10 ottobre del 2008 la Giornata di studi intitolata *La Sapienza bizantina. Un secolo di ricerche sulla civiltà di Bisanzio all'Università di Roma* ha fatto il punto sul ruolo decisivo giocato in questo settore dall'Ateneo romano[2] fin dall'epoca di Adolfo Venturi, che qui fondò la prima cattedra italiana di Storia dell'Arte nel 1901. A un decennio di distanza, due giovani studiosi della Sapienza, 'figli' di questa secolare vicenda di studi, hanno curato questa piccola, ma preziosa esposizione

1 A. Iacobini, Fernanda de'Maffei (22. 5. 1917 – 28. 4. 2011). *BZ* 105 (2012) 586 – 594.
2 A. Acconcia Longo / G. Cavallo / A. Guiglia / A. Iacobini (a cura di), La Sapienza bizantina. Un secolo di ricerche sulla civiltà di Bisanzio all'Università di Roma. Atti della Giornata di Studi (Sapienza Università di Roma, 10 ottobre 2008). *Milion. Studi e ricerche d'arte bizantina*, 8. Roma 2012.

fotografica con lo scopo – come hanno dichiarato nell'introduzione al catalogo – di presentare per la prima volta una panoramica del vastissimo materiale conservato presso il CDSAB, al momento non catalogato e pressoché ignoto agli studiosi e, parallelamente, di proporre la ricostruzione di «un'entusiasmante avventura accademica che ha unito l'Italia e la Turchia sotto il segno comune di Bisanzio» (p. 14).

Protagoniste del volume, e della mostra, sono infatti settantacinque immagini scelte fra le oltre 35.100 (fotografie, diapositive, negativi, mappe, disegni ecc.) patrimonio del CDSAB, ubicato presso il Dipartimento SARAS – Storia Antropologia Religioni Arte Spettacolo della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia; immagini raccolte in oltre un quarantennio di missioni di studio effettuate a partire dal 1966 nel Vicino Oriente, in aree oggi pertinenti a Turchia, Armenia, Mesopotamia settentrionale, Grecia, Cipro, Siria, Israele, Giordania, Egitto, Tunisia.[3] Nello specifico, le fotografie vertono sull'Anatolia bizantina, nel corso della seconda metà del secolo passato attraversata da Occidente a Oriente da docenti e studiosi di Bisanzio, con i loro allievi, nell'ambito di progetti di ricerca promossi dalla Sapienza con il contributo del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, e svolti anche in collaborazione con le Università di Padova e Urbino. Appare quindi 'naturale' che la mostra sia nata da una cooperazione tra l'Ateneo romano e il Centro di ricerca turco ANAMED, della Koç University, presso i cui spazi a Istanbul hanno trovato posto le immagini, in un allestimento essenziale ma raffinato in cui a parlare sono stati i luoghi, con i manufatti, i monumenti e, spesso, i loro abitanti moderni. La mostra è stata divisa in quattro sezioni, ognuna dedicata a una specifica regione storica – Turchia orientale, Licia, Mesopotamia e Tur 'Abdin, Cilicia e Isauria –, e la loro successione ha seguito nel complesso lo svolgersi cronologico delle missioni, dal 1966 al 2000. Al racconto visivo si è accompagnato anche quello narrativo, con le interviste rilasciate ai due curatori da alcuni dei protagonisti o testimoni di quei viaggi di studio (Marina Falla, Francesco Gandolfo, Alessandra Guiglia, Antonio Iacobini, Giovanna Valenzano) e raccolte in un filmato intitolato *Byzantine Horizons: A Century of Italian Research in Anatolia*, realizzato dalla Borak Films di Bruxelles (p. 17–18).

L'ANAMED ha anche edito il catalogo bilingue (turco e inglese, tradotto da Yiğit Adam), come la mostra curato da Livia Bevilacqua e Giovanni Gasbarri. Si

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3 Foto di questo archivio hanno contribuito anche a una seconda mostra: *La Siria bizantina nella documentazione fotografica dal Novecento ad oggi*, aperta dal 30 novembre 2018 al 31 gennaio 2019 presso il Museo dell'Arte Classica della Sapienza Università di Roma e curata da Alessandra Guiglia e Eva Staurenghi. Le immagini del CDSAB hanno dialogato con quelle raccolte dall'archeologo Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann nelle missioni condotte in Siria dal 1936 al 1992 e conservate nella fototeca del Deutsches Archäologisches Institut di Roma.

tratta di un volume molto elegante, di 228 pagine e strutturato in tre parti: una raccolta di saggi; il catalogo vero e proprio; un'appendice contenente i profili biografici degli studiosi partecipanti alle missioni (curata da Giovanni Gasbarri e Lorenzo Riccardi), un indice dei luoghi e uno dei nomi, la bibliografia specifica.

Prologo al catalogo fotografico sono i saggi nei quali viene ricostruito il percorso accidentato, sia pure per motivi diversi, degli studi bizantini in Italia e in Turchia. Un *excursus* sulla situazione italiana è proposto da Alessandra Guiglia e Antonio Iacobini (*Rome and the New Rome: Sapienza and Byzantine Anatolia*) e da Livia Bevilacqua e Giovanni Gasbarri (*Byzantine Art History in Italy between the 1930s and the 1960s*): dagli studiosi precocemente interessati a Bisanzio nei primi decenni del Novecento (fra tutti, la figura-chiave di Antonio Muñoz, il primo storico dell'arte italiano a viaggiare nei territori del Mediterraneo orientale e a studiare in modo adeguato i monumenti bizantini) alla battuta d'arresto di epoca fascista, conseguenza di un orientamento politico-culturale teso a marginalizzare il ruolo di Bisanzio, al cambiamento di approccio agli studi bizantini rilevabile dagli anni Cinquanta in poi. Tra gli studiosi di quest'ultima stagione, ne emergono due che sono anche protagonisti della mostra attuale, Géza de Francovich (1902–1996) e Fernanda de' Maffei (1917–2011). Il primo, nell'ambito dei suoi interessi di medievistica, volge la sua attenzione alla produzione artistica del Mediterraneo orientale e al suo influsso sull'Occidente europeo; è lui che avvia la prassi delle missioni nel Vicino Oriente con la prima delle ricognizioni nella Turchia orientale (e nell'Armenia sovietica), nel 1966. La seconda studiosa, parte dell'*équipe* 'armena' dall'anno successivo, è stata la prima a ricoprire una cattedra di Storia dell'Arte Bizantina in Italia e lei stessa coordinatrice dal 1975 di questi viaggi, insieme in particolare a Italo Furlan, dell'Università di Padova, e a giovani allievi che nel tempo diverranno loro stessi docenti e ricercatori nelle principali università italiane. Viaggiatrice avventurosa dotata di un'energia fuori dal comune, e studiosa dalla formazione vasta e articolata, la de' Maffei proprio partendo dall'esperienza armena si era impegnata da subito ad «allargare i limiti geografici e culturali a tutta l'area bizantina, sia per fornire ai ricercatori in essa impegnati l'opportunità di un ampliamento di orizzonti, sia per favorire nuovi studi sull'immenso patrimonio artistico, ancora in larga parte inedito, o troppo poco noto, esistente in Anatolia e nelle regioni del vicino Oriente cristiano».[4] E la mostra è la testimonianza dell'assolvimento di tale impegno.

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4 F. de' Maffei, Stato degli studi sull'arte bizantina in Italia. 1° Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Arte (Roma, C.N.R., 11 – 14 settembre 1978), a cura di C. Maltese. *Quaderni de 'La Ricerca scientifica'*, 106. Roma 1980, 553 – 555, qui 554.

Sull'altro versante, Engin Akyürek (*Byzantine art history in Turkey from the 1950s to the present)*, ripercorre le tappe dello sviluppo degli studi bizantini in Turchia dalla metà del Novecento, proceduti in modo discontinuo, anche se Bisanzio sembra infine aver trovato un suo posto stabile nell'indagine critica turca, come emblematicamente rappresenta l'apertura nel 2015 di due importanti centri di studio a Istanbul: in gennaio il GABAM, Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies, diretto dallo stesso Akyürek, il primo centro turco di ricerca scientifica dedicato alla storia dell'arte e all'archeologia bizantine, fondato grazie al sostegno della Koç University e della Stavros Niarchos Foundation; il 15 dicembre il Byzantine Studies Research Center, presso la Boğaziçi University, diretto da Nevra Necipoğlu.[5] Superati i pregiudizi, l'auspicio è che anche il periodo bizantino possa «essere reinterpretato e presentato come parte della storia della civiltà dell'Anatolia e del patrimonio culturale comune»,[6] analogamente alle civiltà che fin dalla proclamazione della Repubblica turca erano state integrate proprio grazie all'archeologia, contribuendo a creare un'unitaria coscienza nazionale basata su un patrimonio artistico e monumentale condiviso.

Di tutto questo costituisce una chiosa ideale il saggio di Alessandra Guiglia e Claudia Barsanti (*Sapienza in Istanbul: The Hagia Sophia Project*), che illustrano uno dei più significativi progetti della Sapienza, avviato nel 1999 e reso possibile dall'autorizzazione concessa dal Ministero della Cultura della Repubblica di Turchia e dalla disponibilità della Direzione dell'Ayasofya Műzesi: lo studio delle lastre marmoree della Santa Sofia. Studio che col tempo si è progressivamente ampliato ad altri aspetti della Grande Chiesa (ad esempio, le porte e gli arredi architettonici in bronzo, le travi lignee) e alle sculture dell'Ayasofya Műzesi. Una notevole mole di materiale di alta qualità, eppure fino a quel momento sostanzialmente trascurato, oggetto di studi frammentari e in molta parte inedito. A questo progetto, incentrato su Costantinopoli, ne è idealmente collegato un altro, diretto da Antonio Iacobini, che verte sulle porte bronzee ese-

5 I due direttori hanno contribuito alla riflessione sulla relazione conflittuale della Turchia moderna col suo passato bizantino che, in particolare negli ultimi due decenni, ha coinvolto numerosi studiosi: N. Necipoğlu, Byzantine studies in Turkey: contemporary Trends in Historical Scholarship, in: Contemporary perceptions of Byzantium, International Symposium (Istanbul, Kadir Has University, 19 – 21 November 2009); E. Akyürek, Byzantine art historical scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century in Istanbul, in: Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul: scholars, institutions, and challenges, 1800 – 1955**,** Symposium (Istanbul, Pera Museum, 16 – 18 November 2017); entrambi inediti.

6 U. Serin, Interpreting heritage. The contribution of archaeology to Byzantine studies in Turkey. *Toplumsal Tarih* 278 (2017) 68 – 81, qui 68 (in turco).

guite nella capitale bizantina in epoca comnena ed esportate in particolare in Italia.[7]

I progetti di ricerca sull'arredo scultoreo della Santa Sofia e sulle porte bronzee costantinopolitane costituiscono due poli d'interesse fondamentali della cattedra romana, fin dall'inizio attenta alla relazione tra centro e periferia, tra la capitale e le province dell'impero, e alla diffusione mediterranea dei manufatti metropolitani. Ed è alla 'periferia', e alle sue relazioni con il 'centro', che è dedicata la mostra, come si evince scorrendo le pagine del catalogo delle foto, parte centrale del volume. Questa si apre con la «Cronologia delle missioni sul campo organizzate dalla Sapienza (Storia dell'Arte Bizantina)» dal 1966, che si alternano all'indicazione di mostre e convegni in cui ne sono stati presentati i risultati e di alcuni episodi salienti nella storia della disciplina, ad esempio nel 1988 la pubblicazione del primo numero della collana *Milion. Studi e ricerche di arte bizantina*, fondata da Fernanda de' Maffei e tuttora attiva sotto la direzione di Antonio Iacobini (p. 85–89). Queste poche pagine danno immediatamente l'idea di come lo svolgersi delle missioni abbia accompagnato lo sviluppo degli studi a Roma, suggerendone tematiche, esiti e prospettive di sviluppo e contribuendo a 'modellare' più di una generazione di bizantinisti. Come la mostra, il catalogo delle foto è diviso in quattro sezioni, ognuna delle quali presenta una breve introduzione nella quale si illustrano origine dei progetti di ricerca, metodologie di lavoro adottate, obiettivi conseguiti (o meno): *Field Trips in Eastern Turkey*, di Livia Bevilacqua, *Field Trips in Lycia*, di Andrea Paribeni, *Traveling Along the Eastern Border*, di Enrico Zanini, *Field Trips in Cilicia and Isauria*, ancora di Andrea Paribeni.

Come sottolinea Livia Bevilacqua a proposito delle indagini nella Turchia orientale (ma l'osservazione è estendibile anche alle altre), «I materiali conservati in CDSAB, insieme ai testi pubblicati, attestano l'approccio innovativo adottato durante queste spedizioni: il completamento metodico delle indagini e l'introduzione di giovani studiosi all'osservazione *in situ* e allo studio dei monumenti storici» (p. 95). Ed Enrico Zanini, illustrando i viaggi ai confini orientali dell'impero (Mesopotamia settentrionale e Tur 'Abdin), ne sottolinea il valore formativo per i giovani studiosi partecipanti: «l'eccezionale stato di conservazione del paesaggio e del contesto antropico del Tur 'Abdin» favorì un approccio conoscitivo di tipo olistico, vista la possibilità di interagire «direttamente con l'ambiente geografico e antropologico in cui quegli edifici erano stati ideati ed eretti, in cui erano stati trasformati e adattati nel corso dei secoli, e in cui erano

7 A. Iacobini (a cura di), Le porte del Paradiso: arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo. Roma 2009.

infine sopravvissuti. Questo ci dava la possibilità di immaginare nuove connessioni con gli strumenti e le metodologie usati abitualmente (...)» (p. 145, 147). Le due serie di missioni sopracitate sono concettualmente, oltre che geograficamente, collegate. Come si è detto, tutto è cominciato nel 1966, con il progetto *Studio e rilevamento dei monumenti medievali armeni* di de Francovich e le ricognizioni in Turchia orientale (e nell'Armenia sovietica), nel corso delle quali alcuni monumenti vennero identificati per la prima volta, ad esempio il monastero di Hogotsvank (Dermeryem Kilise) a Van (cat. no. 5) o la Beşik Camii a Kars (cat. no. 23).[8] Alla seconda spedizione, del 1967, partecipò anche Fernanda de' Maffei, così come alle successive del 1972 e del 1973. Non a caso l'architettura fu uno dei filoni di interesse della docente, che proprio nel 1973 cominciava i suoi corsi universitari esplicitamente dedicati all'Arte bizantina, preludio alla creazione della cattedra tre anni dopo. Così nello stesso solco si inserisce la stagione dei viaggi condotti dal 1983 in Mesopotamia settentrionale e nel Tur 'Abdin, dove correva il *limes* orientale dell'impero, con l'obiettivo di indagare l'architettura civile e religiosa durante l'età di Giustiniano: sebbene la ricerca non si sia conclusa con uno studio generale, rimangono significativi contributi su singoli aspetti, ad esempio sulle fortificazioni di Dara/Anastasiopolis e di Amida (Diyarbakır) o sul monastero di Deir Zafāran, di cui sono esposte suggestive immagini.[9]

Dalla impossibilità di effettuare nel 1975 la ricognizione sui monumenti armeni nascono le indagini in Licia (p. 123), individuata come alternativa in quanto all'epoca gli studi critici sulla fase bizantina della regione, ricca di siti storici, erano piuttosto scarsi. In quell'occasione fu possibile identificare alcune chiese ancora inedite a Pinara, Patara, Tlos (cat. no. 25), Sidyma (cat. no. 27) e Xanthos (cat. no. 29), di cui furono proposte delle piante, in alcuni casi solo parziali visto lo stato di totale rovina in cui versavano gli edifici, ben documentato dalle foto.[10] Anche la prima delle missioni in Cilicia e Isauria prende

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8 L'importanza scientifica di quelle missioni è riconosciuta negli studi attuali, ad esempio in C. Maranci, Medieval Armenian architecture: constructions of race and nation. Leuven 2001, 208 – 219: the Italian contribution (1965 – present); o A. Marouti, Preservation of the architectural heritage of Armenia. A history of its evolution from the perspective of the early 19th century European travelers to the scientific preservation of the Soviet Period. Tesi di Dottorato, Politecnico di Milano, agosto 2018, 195 – 206 (The Italian Contribution).

9 Le notazioni innovative sulle fortificazioni di Dara vengono ricordate nel recente contributo di E. Keser-Kayaalp / N. Erdoğan, Recent research on Dara/Anastasiopolis, in E. Rizos (ed.), New cities in late antiquity: documents and archaeology. *Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive*, 35. Turnhout 2017, 153 – 176.

10 Alcune di esse sono state riportate alla luce integralmente solo grazie a scavi approfonditi, ad esempio a Patara e a Tlos (in attesa, questi ultimi, di una pubblicazione unitaria).

avvio nel 1989 dalla impossibilità di effettuare una ricognizione annuale, stavolta nel Tur ‘Abdin (p. 176); ma nel tempo tale diversione si è rivelata estremamente fruttuosa. L’indagine, sostenuta da ulteriori sopralluoghi fino al 2000, ha riguardato numerosi insediamenti ecclesiastici, e della loro varietà dà conto il catalogo delle foto. Tra i risultati più significativi di essa, si segnalano i contributi alla questione, nodale, dell’origine e sviluppo della basilica con cupola, espressiva di quel complesso rapporto centro/periferia che è uno dei temi portanti della ricerca della cattedra di Storia dell’arte bizantina della Sapienza.[11]

In conclusione, il catalogo, e la mostra, raccontano la storia non solo di alcune regioni dell’Anatolia bizantina ma anche dei ricercatori che l’hanno ricomposta con le immagini e con gli scritti: quella pioneristica dei ‘padri fondatori’ come de Francovich e la de’ Maffei; quella dei loro allievi, prima giovani entusiasti che imparavano un ‘metodo’ di lavoro a contatto diretto con luoghi e monumenti, poi a loro volta docenti; e quella degli allievi di oggi, come i due curatori, che quella «avventura» accademica e umana hanno vissuto solo attraverso le immagini in bianco/nero e a colori che hanno studiato e scelto di presentare, ma a cui quell’eredità scientifica è stata trasmessa, unendoli idealmente agli iniziatori di tutto questo.

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André Binggeli / Mattieu Cassin / Marie Cronier / Matoula Kouroupou, Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Sainte-Trinité de Chalki. Brepols, Turnhout 2019. 2 Bde. XXV + 481 S. 10 S. + 359 (Farb)abb. ISBN 978-2-503-57434-9.

Im vorliegenden Katalog werden 141 Handschriften (Codices 1–147; die Codices 2, 3, 17, 24, 25, 36 fehlen oder sind verschollen) beschrieben (Codices Nr. 80, 95, 103, 133 lediglich nach Mikrofilm), die aus dem Kloster der Hl. Dreifaltigkeit auf der Insel Chalke stammen und heute in der Bibliothek des Patriarchats von Kon-

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11 A. Iacobini, Un modello architettonico bizantino tra centro e periferia: la chiesa cupolata ad ambulacro. *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 76 (2003–2004) 135–174.

stantinopel in Istanbul aufbewahrt werden. Die kurze Einleitung (S. IX–XVI) bietet einen summarischen Überblick über die Geschichte des vor 1539/40 gegründeten Klosters sowie über den Bestand selbst. Dieser war bisher lediglich in dem unzulänglichen Katalog von A. Tsakopulos beschrieben, der zudem äußerst schwierig aufzutreiben war.[12] Die Kürze der Einleitung ist unter anderem dadurch begründet, dass eine Monographie zur Geschichte der durch handschriftliche Kataloge und Reiseberichte gut dokumentierten Bibliothek folgen soll. Hervorzuheben ist, dass die überwiegende Mehrheit der Handschriften aus byzantinischer Zeit stammt; die in klösterlichen Bibliotheken besonders häufigen Handschriften aus der Zeit nach 1600 fehlen hier fast gänzlich. Auf ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. XVII–XXII), Abbildungsverzeichnis (S. XXIII–XXV) folgen der eigentliche Katalogteil (S. 3–414) sowie ausführliche Indizes (S. 417–481: Initienverzeichnis, Autoren- und Werkverzeichnis, Verzeichnis der Wasserzeichen, Verzeichnis der datierten bzw. datierbaren Handschriften, Verzeichnis der zitierten Handschriften und ein allgemeiner Index).

Neben griechischen begegnen auch (altkirchen)slawische (Nr. 147; Vorsatzblätter Nr. 4) und lateinische (Vorsatzblätter Nr. 11) Texte sowie kurze Notizen auf Georgisch (Nr. 32; Nr. 114), Arabisch (Nr. 7; Nr. 122) und Armenisch (Nr. 88, in griechischer Schrift; leider ohne Transkription). Besonders interessant sind albanische Notizen in griechischer Schrift (Nr. 104; mit Transkription, toskischer Dialekt), die leider nicht datiert wurden, was im Hinblick auf die besonders späte Bezeugung des Albanischen einen Versuch verdient hätte.

Der inhaltliche Schwerpunkt der Sammlung liegt auf liturgischen, hagiographischen und untergeordnet auch theologischen Texten. Aus inhaltlichen Gründen hervorzuheben sind die Codices 106 (kurze Exzerpte aus Pindar, 14. Jh.), 142–143 (kanonistische Sammlung), 144 (Homer, 15.–16. Jh., wahrscheinlich teilweise in Italien geschrieben), 145 (umfangreiche Sammelhandschrift mit Euripides, Hesiod, Dionysios Periegetes, Aischylos, Sophokles, Libanios; geschrieben teilweise im Umfeld der Familie Moschos, vermutlich auf Kerkyra oder in Italien, überwiegend im 15.–16. Jh., doch stammt der Sophokles-Teil bereits aus dem 14. Jahrhundert und verdient daher eine Kollation). Die wichtigste Handschrift ist jedoch Cod. 133 mit dem palimpsestierten Text des sog. Zeremonienbuches (vgl. weiter unten).

Eine Besonderheit der Sammlung ist die offenbar hervorragende Erhaltung der teils ursprünglichen Einbände, von den etliche abgebildet sind (Tf. 308–350). Auch Einbandstempel wurden pausiert (Tf. 351–359B). Unter den Einbänden

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12 A. Tsakopulos, Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Β΄. Ἁγίας Τριάδος Χάλκης. Istanbul 1956.

findet sich mindestens eine kretische Arbeit (Nr. 48; vgl. Tf. 320 – 321) mit typischer farbiger Schnittdekoration. Entgegen den Autoren handelt es sich nicht um ein „atelier de la famille Apostolès“ (S. 99 – 100), sondern um ein anonymes Buchbindeatelier, das im letzten Viertel des 15. und ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Stadt Candia (Herakleion) tätig war.

Der umfangreiche Tafelteil bietet die Möglichkeit einer Überprüfung der ausführlichen paläographischen Analyse einzelner Hände. Neben den wenigen auch anderwärtig bekannten Schreibern sind damit bisher unbekannte eponyme und anonyme Kopisten erstmals mit einer Schriftprobe vertreten, was den Weg zu weiteren Identifizierungen öffnet. Eher gering ist die Zahl der datierten Handschriften (lediglich 2 aus der Zeit vor 1204; älteste datierte Handschrift Nr. 76 [a. 1053]). Besonders hervorzuheben ist, dass den Autoren die Identifizierung einiger anonymer Hände gelang und dass sie mit Sorgfalt auch der Provenienz der Vor- und Nachsatzblätter nachgegangen sind.

Die Kollektion bietet unter anderem neues Material zu verschiedenen Ausprägungen der Majuskel (ausschließlich Vor- oder Nachsatzblätter und Palimpseste: Nr. 11, 13, 41, 75, 91, 107, 124, 136). Überhaupt ist der Anteil an Palimpsesten relativ hoch (Nr. 13, 29, 41, 75, 76, 102, 104, 116, 124, 133). Ferner werden unsere Kenntnisse über provinzielle Handschriftenproduktion erweitert: Nr. 4 (Festlandgriechenland, aufgrund des Duktus; hierauf weist auch das slaw. Vorsatzblatt hin; trotz generischer Verwandtschaft kein *style epsilon* und daher nicht Zypern), Nr. 5 (Zypern/Palästina: a. 1188, subskribiert von dem Anagnosten Georgios Hagioeleutherites, ohne Ortsangabe; *style epsilon*), Nr. 6 (Festlandgriechenland; aufgrund des Duktus), Nr. 7 (Zypern; Kopist <Demetrios Rhomanites>), Nr. 8 (Festlandgriechenland; aufgrund des Duktus und der Dekoration, Vorbesitzer ein Kloster in Butrint), Nr. 9 (Festlandgriechenland, aufgrund des Duktus und der Dekoration), Nr. 21 (Santorini; Vorbesitzer), Nr. 39 (Euböa; Vermerke), Nr. 48 (Kreta; aufgrund des Einbands), Nr. 75 (Krim/Sugdaia; Vermerke), Nr. 61 (provinziell; aufgrund der Dekoration), Nr. 100 (hier beruht die Annahme pontischer Provenienz lediglich auf einem Besitzvermerk des Metropoliten von Amaseia), 120 (eingefügtes Fragment mit Euthymios Zigabenos; style à μὲν distendu [eine Studie zur Lokalisierung dieses bisher kaum studierten Schriftstils bereitet Prof. Francesco D’Aiuto vor]), 122 (Palästina; Vermerke, Illumination), 128 (Leros; Vermerke, zusätzlich deuten Duktus und Illumination auf provinzielles Milieu), 143 (provinziell; Duktus, Tintenfarbe, sehr schlechte Orthographie).

Einzelmonita. – Nr. 82: 1. Hälfte des 11. Jh. Nr. 124: etwa spätes 12. Jh. Nr. 133: Es handelt sich nicht um zwei zeitgleiche Hände der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, sondern um eine etwas ältere Hand (kein Palimpsest) in der Nachfolge der Perlschrift (Tf. 270) und eine etwas jüngere Hand (archaisierende Minuskel der frühen Palaiologenzeit; Tf. 271) (Palimpsest, vermutlich Ergänzung des älteren Teils des

Codex). Die Annahme eines archaisierenden Stils (im Sinne einer bewussten Imitation) im Falle der ersten Hand (S. 359) ist anhand der beigegebenen Tafel nicht nachvollziehbar. Nr. 135 (11.–12. Jh.): 11. Jh. Die Identifizierung der Wasserzeichen geht oft von der Identität von Wasserzeichen mit Belegen aus publizierten Repertorien aus (vgl. etwa S. 26, 33); dies dürfte nur in absoluten Ausnahmefällen zutreffen. Identifizierungen aufgrund des Duktus werden wie üblich in spitze Klammern gesetzt, doch unterbleibt diese Setzung manchmal (vgl. etwa S. 99, 126). Auf S. 36 sollte die Abbreviatur für κῦρ im Genitiv als κῦρ (nicht κυροῦ) aufgelöst werden (überwiegend indeklinabel).

Die Autoren haben mit der vorliegenden Publikation einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Erschließung der byzantinischen Buchkultur geleistet. Es wäre sehr wünschenswert, wenn sie ihre Katalogisierungsarbeit weiter fortsetzen könnten.

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Sergej P. Karpov (ed.), Михаил Панарет. О Великих Комнинах (Трапезундская хроника). Критическое издание и перевод. Sankt Peterburg 2019. 172 p. Aletejja. ISBN 978-5-907115-64-4.

The contribution of Russian scholars to the history of Trebizond has been important since the early 20th century. In the last decades, S. P. Karpov (Moscow) has devoted much attention and scholarly acumen to the systematic study of sources pertaining to the history of the tiny empire with focus on hitherto understudied documentary material preserved in Italian archives. A few years ago, several decades of this painstaking research have led to the publication of a comprehensive monograph on the history of Trebizond.[13]

It is therefore welcome that S. P. Karpov has now turned his attention to the most important Greek source for the history of Trebizond, the chronicle of Michael Panaretos, until now available in a very thorough critical edition by O.

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13 S. P. Karpov, Ἱστορία τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Τραπεζοῦντας. Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπιμέλεια M. Gratsianski – St. Kordoses. Athens 2017 (revised Greek translation of the first Russian edition, published in 2007); id., История трапезундской империи. Второе издание, исправленное и дополненное (*Новая византийская библиотека, Исследования*). Saint Petersburg 2017 (second, revised Russian edition).

Lampsides (1958).[14] LAMPSIDES' excellent editorial achievement has two substantial drawbacks: this edition is by now of limited availability and it lacks a detailed historical commentary. The present critical edition, accompanied by a Russian translation, offers a palliative to the aforementioned drawbacks; it is the fruit of collaboration between S.P. KARPOV (introduction, translation, commentary, appendices), R.M. ŠUKUROV (translation, commentary, indices), and A.M. KRJUKOV (Greek text, indices).

The brief introduction (p. 7–16) contains information on the textual transmission (*codex unicus* Marc. gr. 608), on previous editions and translations of the work (Russian, English, French, Georgian and Turkish). The person of the author (known only from his own writings), the anonymous continuation of the chronicle after Panaretos' death (after ca. 1390), its sources and linguistical traits are briefly introduced. Finally, the principles of the new critical edition are expounded. The language of Panaretos certainly deserves a more detailed treatment, but this should be reserved for a broader study on the linguistic particularities of mediaeval Greek texts from Trebizond. As pointed out by the author of the present review, the first verifiable owner of the Marc. gr. 608 was the well-known Morezenos family from Crete (2nd half of the 16th century). However, there is no need to suppose that the manuscript itself, dating from the 2nd quarter of the 15th century, has been written outside the Pontos area (p. 9; cf. infra)[15].

P. 19 – 69 contain a facsimile edition of the relevant part of the Marc. gr. 608 (ff. 287r–312r). Readers interested in the linguistic features of the work should be able to verify the decisions of the editor. This is important in the case of non-standard or even dialectal forms (cf. infra). Only very few photographs of the codex have been available until now. At least two different hands can be distinguished: A (ff. 287r–289v) (more formal) and B (ff. 290r–312r [?]). The second hand is clearly familiar with chancery practice (cf. e.g. the ligature of epsilon and kappa, f. 295v, l. 1 and 5; epsilon and xi, f. 296v, l. 15; the characteristical ligature δεσπ in δεσπότης, δέσποινα, f. 296v, l. 11; ἔτους, f. 306r, l. 20). Considering the unique nature of the texts contained in the Marc. gr. 608 (the chronicle of Michael Panaretos, followed by a particular *taktikon* which would be well adapted

14 O. LAMPSIDES, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου Περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν. *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 22 (1958) 5 – 128. It should be pointed out that the separate edition (not cited on pp. 9 – 10 of the present monograph) is a reprint of the journal article with identical pagination; cf. O. LAMPSIDES, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου Περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν (*Ποντιακαὶ ἔρευναι* 2). Athens 1958.

15 Cf. R.S. STEFEC, Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 205 – 233: 231 – 232, notes 136 – 140. The manuscript clearly needs further examination.

to the use of Trapezuntine court, at least partially known from other sources), it is probable that the manuscript was written in Trebizond by personnel of the imperial chancery in the last decades of the Grand Komnenoi rule.

On p. 74–113 follows the Greek text, accompanied by a Russian translation. The author of the present review is not qualified to judge the merits of the latter; on the former, cf. the remarks infra. The commentary (p. 117–138) is brief and succinct; for further details, the reader is referred to recent bibliography. The authors of the commentary have already dealt with numerous aspects of Trapezuntine history in several detailed studies and they wished to avoid duplication. On p. 134, note 187, read Dionysios instead of St. Athanasios. The appendices (p. 141–145) contain a list of the emperors and metropolitans of Trebizond as well as of court titles attested by various sources (mainly the Trapezuntine *taktikon*). They are followed by a list of abbreviations (p. 146–147), bibliography (p. 148–152), indices (p. 155–172) and an English abstract (p. 173). A neat map of the Pontos area is contained inside the book cover.

The principles of the edition are expounded on p. 14: only the manuscript itself and the edition of Lampsides are cited consequently. The page numbering of Lampsides is provided in the margin (on p. 84 and 86 the pagination is incorrect: read 67 L and 68 L instead of twice 66 L). Earlier editions are cited only in a few justified cases. The manuscript (M) and two previous editors (Lampsides, Fallmerayer: L, F) are cited by a siglum. This creates confusion between sources of a different kind and authority; for example, the conjectures of Lampsides are often cited as ‘e corr. L’, which in fact implies a manuscript denoted as ‘L’ whose scribe introduces a variant *post correcturam*. Orthographical errors of the manuscript are minutiously registered in the apparatus, but the corresponding corrections made by previous editors are sometimes noted and sometimes not. A small number of readings are reported falsely (cf. p. 76 l. 30, where ρουσουτάνας is the correct reading *supra lineam*). Sometimes corrections concerning numerals are reported ambiguously: which of the numerals is meant on p. 78, l. 14? The use of brackets may be misleading: p. 90, l. 8; p. 92, l. 37 ἀπρίλλι<ον> M would mean: ἀπρίλλι with no sign of a lacuna supplemented by M (more probably an editor than a manuscript). In fact, the manuscript reads ἀπρί^{λλ} *in suspensione*.

But let us have a look at a few cases important for the constitution of the text. P. 86 l. 19 τουραλί πέκ M : Τουραλίπεκ ed. The former seems justifiable (two separate words reflecting the original etymology). P. 86, l. 10 (and *passim*) σεπτευρίω M : Σεπτεμβρίῳ ed. Probably the non-standard Σεπτέβριος could be retained as *usus auctoris*. P. 90, l. 20: διὰ μέσον can probably be retained as a composite preposition (cf. ἀναμεταξύ). The readings συμπεθερίαν, κατακουζηνόν, δεκεβρίου on p. 98, l. 10 and 20 and p. 100, l. 6 (cf. also p. 108, l. 24)

could possibly be defended (elimination of the nasal, very common in various Greek dialects). On the other hand, p. 106, l. 30 ὀκτομβρίου (cf. also p. 108, l. 27) is also well attested (Ὀκτώμβριος is a very common pronunciation of the word in standard Modern Greek, despite being incorrect). For the highly suspect (though transmitted by the manuscript) εἰς τὰ χειμαδίας (p. 108, l. 2 with no entry in the apparatus) cf. the edition of Lampsides, p. 79, l. 17.

The present edition offers a succinct, updated and reliable historical commentary of the text. The facsimile edition of the manuscript will be very useful, and for difficult passages the Russian translation will be helpful, too. Scholars especially interested in the language of the chronicle should, however, also consult the edition of Lampsides, and for reasons of compatibility both editions should, whenever possible, be cited concomitantly.

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Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure, Ἀνατολικὴ Μακεδονία, Δυτικὴ Θράκη / Macédoine orientale, Thrace occidentale. Εὑρετήριο τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Τοιχογραφιῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος / Corpus de la Peinture Monumentale Byzantine de la Grèce, 2. Athena, Akademia Athenon 2016. 379 S., 2 Karten, zahlreiche farbige und s/w-Abb. im Text. ISBN 978-960-404-309-5.
Panagiotes Bokotopulos / Polyxene Demetrakopulu / Diamanto Regaku / Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopulos / Ioannes P. Chuliaras, Ἰόνια νησιά / Îles ioniennes. Εὑρετήριο τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Τοιχογραφιῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος / Corpus de la Peinture Monumentale Byzantine de la Grèce, 3. Athena, Akademia Athenon 2018. 249 S., 4 Karten, zahlreiche farbige und s/w-Abb. im Text. ISBN 978-960-404-342-2.

Die beiden kurz nacheinander veröffentlichten Bände entstanden im Auftrag des Forschungszentrums der Byzantinischen und Postbyzantinischen Kunst der Akademie von Athen und gingen aus einem Kompetenznetzwerk unter der Leitung von Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos, Mitglied der Akademie von Athen, hervor. Sie gehören zu einem großangelegten Projekt zur Erfassung des Corpus der mit Fresken ausgeschmückten byzantinischen Kirchen Griechenlands, das unter der Schirmherrschaft der internationalen Akademienunion steht.

Der von Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure erstellte zweite Band der Reihe über die byzantinische Monumentalmalerei Ostmakedoniens und Westthrakiens umfasst

alle in diesen Landesteilen erhaltenen Kirchen, die von der Mitte des 7. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert datiert werden, und zwar unabhängig von der Größe und Qualität ihrer Freskierung. Das Werk gliedert sich nach Vorwort (Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos), Einleitung (Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure) und Literaturverzeichnis (S. 9–22) in zwei Großabschnitte: die Darstellung des historischen Umfeldes einschließlich der Architektur- (Kostas Tsures, S. 23–60) und Malereigeschichte (Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure, S. 61–97) sowie das Verzeichnis der nach den heutigen Verwaltungsbezirken sortierten Monumente (Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure, S. 102–358). Die Dokumentation wird durch zwei Landkarten (S. 100–101), zahlreiche Zeichnungen und Abbildungen illustriert und erläutert. Ein allgemeines und ein ikonographisches Register (S. 361–377) sowie ein Fotonachweis (S. 361–379) schließen den Band ab.

Im Eröffnungskapitel über die Geschichte Ostmakedoniens und Westthrakiens vom 7. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert stellt Kostas Tsures die politischen und militärischen Geschehnisse dar, die sich in dem nah der Reichshauptstadt Konstantinopel gelegenen Gebiet unter wechselnder Herrschaft vor allem der Bulgaren und Byzantiner ereigneten. Auf der Grundlage relevanter Fachliteratur beschreibt der Autor, wie sich in diesem Zeitraum die wichtigsten Städte, Bistümer, Verkehrsachsen und Straßen – darunter die strategisch und wirtschaftlich bedeutende Via Egnatia – entwickelten und veränderten. Ihre Kontrolle und ihren Schutz sicherten die wechselnden Herrscher durch den Bau und Ausbau von Befestigungswerken, mitunter auch mit grenzbildender Funktion. So stieg zum Beispiel Serres im Lauf der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Zeit zur bedeutendsten Stadt Ostmakedoniens auf und Philippoi zu einer belanglosen Siedlung ab. Philippoi hielt aber dennoch dank seiner Reputation als älteste christliche Gemeindegründung eine höhere Stellung in der kirchlichen Rangordnung inne.

In seiner anschließenden Ausführung über den byzantinischen Kirchenbau ordnet Tsures den Bestand der Kirchendenkmäler Ostmakedoniens und Westthrakiens anhand von Bautypologie und Morphologie in zwei Gruppen. Eine Gruppe bilden die östlich des Flusses Nestos gelegenen Kirchen, die an die Bautradition Konstantinopels anknüpfen. Hierfür ist die Panagia Kosmosoteira in Pherai mit ihrem Kuppel- und Apsidenbau sowie der Verdeckten Schicht-Technik ihrer Ziegellagen ein gutes Beispiel. Zu der anderen Gruppe gehören die Kirchen Ostmakedoniens, an deren Bauformen und -techniken sich Einflüsse aus Thessalonike, dem erweiterten Makedonien und Epiros manifestieren.

Lückenhaft und von Erfassungsproblemen gekennzeichnet ist laut Aussage von Euangelia Papatheophanus-Tsure indes das Wissen über die byzantinische Monumentalmalerei Ostmakedoniens und Westthrakiens, ein nachvollziehbarer Tatbestand angesichts der vielen Katastrophen, die das Gebiet im Lauf der Jahrhunderte heimsuchten. Neben anikonischen Bildthemen, deren zeitliche Ein-

ordnung nach ikonographischen Kriterien oft unsicher zu sein scheint, hebt die Autorin jedoch auch die Bedeutung der in Einsiedeleien und anderen entlegenen Orten vorhandenen Malerei hervor. So veranschaulichen die Freskenfragmente in der tonnengewölbten römischen Zisterne nördlich der Basilika A von Philippoi, die traditionell „Kerker“ des Apostels Paulus genannt und im 9./10. Jahrhundert zum Gebetsraum umgewandelt wurde, die Absicht und Initiative der örtlichen Metropolie, den Kult ihres Gründers wiederzubeleben. Die Entstehung manch prächtiger Dekorationen in städtischen Bischofs- und ländlichen Klosterkirchen zwischen dem 11. und 14. Jahrhundert wird hingegen als Resultat niveauvoller Auftragsarbeit beurteilt, wie am Beispiel der Heiligen Theodoroi-Kirche (Alte Metropolis) in Serres, der bereits erwähnten Panagia Kosmosoteira in Pherai und des Lenos-Klosters am Berg Papikion dargelegt wird. In den Ausstattungen der beiden Letztgenannten findet die kultivierte Kunst Konstantinopels der Komnenen Widerhall. Andere Bauten, wie das bedeutende Prodromos-Kloster am Berg Menoikeion und die klösterlichen Ruinen von Didymoteichon, beherbergen bildliche Zeugnisse der Palaiologenzeit, die die künstlerischen Prozesse der Großzentren Konstantinopel und Thessalonike reflektieren. Die große Anzahl der freskierten Kirchen in und um Serres führt die Autorin auf die direkte Nachbarschaft des Gebiets zum Berg Athos mit seinen zahlreichen Klöstern und Dependancen zurück.

Herausragend, weil Neuland erschließend, ist der beigefügte Katalog, in dem Papatheophanus-Tsure die Architektur und malerische Ausstattung von 38 Metropolitan-, Pfarr-, Kloster- und Grabkirchen sowie Mönchsklausen und Heilquellen erfasst und akribisch beschreibt. Die Autorin rezipiert und diskutiert dabei nicht nur die bisherige Forschung zum jeweiligen Monument, sondern weiß auch mit Informationslücken umzugehen und thematische Linien im Bestandsprofil aufzuzeigen.

Besonders instruktiv ist die Präsentation des Bildmaterials, das aus Grundriss-, Aufriss- und Querschnittzeichnungen, perspektivischen Darstellungen und Rekonstruktionen sowie Farb- und einigen Schwarzweißfotos besteht. Dank dieses anschaulichen Materials ist es möglich, sich ein nahezu vollständiges Bild von den Anlagen zu machen. Durch die Verknüpfung der Baugeschichte mit archäologischen, kunsthistorischen und inschriftlichen Hinweisen erweist sich die Dokumentation als äußerst nützlicher Ausgangspunkt für alle, die sich für den bisher wenig bekannten byzantinischen Kontext in diesem Kulturraum interessieren.

Nach ähnlichen Richtlinien erfasst der dritte Band der Reihe die Wandmalereien von 29 Kirchen, die sich auf den Ionischen Inseln Kerkyra, Leukada, Kephallenia und Zakynthos erhalten haben und in die Zeit zwischen 750 und 1500 datiert werden. Auch hier wird nach Vorwort (Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos) und Litera-

turverzeichnis (S. 11–18) das Thema in zwei Großabschnitte gegliedert behandelt. Im ersten wird die Geschichte der Inseln im Mittelalter umrissen (Spyros N. Asonites, S. 19–42) und ein Überblick über die mittel- und spätbyzantinische Architektur und Monumentalmalerei gegeben (Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos, S. 43–53). Der zweite ist der Zusammenstellung und Beschreibung der freskierten Kirchen gewidmet (S. 61–237), wobei jeweils ausgewiesene Kenner der Materie als Autoren fungieren. Ihre Texte werden durch vier Inselkarten (S. 57–60) sowie durch zahlreiche Grundrisse, Zeichnungen und Farbbilder illustriert und erörtert. Ein allgemeines und ein ikonographisches Register (S. 239–249) schließen den Band ab.

In dem von Spyros Asonites (†) verantworteten ersten Abschnitt wird der Blick auf Geschichtsquellen und Sekundärliteratur gelenkt, die Aussagen zu einschneidenden Ereignissen zulassen. Deren chronologische Aufarbeitung lässt verstehen, warum sich die in der frühmittelalterlichen Zeit periphere Inselgruppe im Ionischen Meer zum Schauplatz byzantinisch-normannischer Auseinandersetzungen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert wandelte. Unabhängig davon, wie die Entwicklungslinien und -tendenzen des mediterranen Raums im Spätmittelalter das jeweilige Schicksal der einzelnen Inseln prägten und welche historischen Konstellationen dort noch westlich-feudale Verhältnisse schufen, ergaben sich offenkundig auch gemeinsame Konstanten. Zu ihnen zählt der Autor die ethnische Homogenität der Inselbewohner, die mittels ihrer landwirtschaftlich geprägten, tonangebenden Lebensform zur Einhaltung tradierter Werte und religiöser Praktiken beitrugen.

Im nächsten Abschnitt lassen Beobachtungen von Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos zur mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur der Untersuchungsregion erkennen, dass die Kirchen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Zeit im ländlichen Inselraum zahlenmäßig dominieren. Dabei handelt es sich in erster Linie um kleine einschiffige Saalkirchen mit Holzdächern. In den Städten finden sich gleichwohl einige wenige Vertreter des anspruchsvolleren Bautyps der Kreuzkuppelkirche, so zum Beispiel die Kirche der Heiligen Iason und Sosipatros in Kerkyra (Ende 10./Anfang 11. Jh.) oder die Soter- (Pantokrator-)Kathedrale in Zakynthos (Ende 11./Anfang 12. Jh.). Ihre aus Cloisonné-Mauerwerk errichteten Bauten und Ziegelornamentik stehen in der Architekturtradition des griechischen Festlandes.

In seinem zusammenfassenden Beitrag über die mittelbyzantinische und die Monumentalmalerei der Palaiologenzeit auf den Ionischen Inseln macht Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos auf die Bedeutung neuer Freskenteile aufmerksam, die seit den 1970er Jahren in kleinen Kirchen auf Kephallenia und Leukada freigelegt wurden. Es handelt sich dabei um Überreste von größeren Malereibeständen, die wissenschaftlich nicht ganz erschließbar sind. Den flächenhaft linearen und zeichenhaft reduzierten byzantinisch-hieratischen Stil, der statisch-frontale Fi-

guren bevorzugt, beleuchtet der Autor an Freskenwerken des 11. Jahrhunderts in Kerkyra, die auch Informationen über das Verhältnis der Insel zur gegenüberliegenden süditalienischen Küste liefern.

Auf der Basis eines Datenmodells erheben die Autoren im zweiten Hauptabschnitt die wichtigsten historischen und archäologischen Daten und liefern zudem Literaturhinweise zur jeweiligen Kirche. Neben der Verortung und sorgfältigen Beschreibung der Kirchenbauten und ihres Mauerwerks und Freskendekors werden einzelne Malereischichten ausgesondert und datiert, vorhandene Inschriften transkribiert und kommentiert. Auch werden Bildinhalte verdeutlicht, die zum Weiterdenken und Diskutieren anregen.

Den größten Teil des Katalogs bilden neun Einträge von Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos und ein Eintrag von Ioannes P. Chuliaras zu den Kirchen von Kerkyra. Polyxene Demetrakopulu stellt drei Kirchen in Leukada vor. Demetrios D. Triantaphyllopulos behandelt die 1450 entstandenen Wandgemälde der Hodegetria-Kirche in Apolpaina, ebenfalls in Leukada. Sie stellen bemerkenswerte Zeugnisse eines gemischten byzantinisch-spätgotischen Stils dar, der im Umfeld der damaligen italienischen Herrscherfamilie Tocco erblühte. In weiteren elf Einträgen erfasst Diamanto Regaku Freskenreste in den einschiffigen Kirchen Kephallenias, von denen einzelne aus konservatorischen Gründen von den Wänden entfernt und in Museumsbestände überführt wurden. Das Verzeichnis schließt mit jeweils zwei Einträgen von Panagiotes L. Bokotopulos und Ioannes P. Chuliaras zu den erhaltenen Kirchen von Zakynthos ab, deren Freskenausstattungen Stilformen der mittel- und postbyzantinischen Malerei aufweisen.

Zu den herausragenden Stärken dieser bestechenden Publikation gehört, dass sie neue wichtige Grundlagen für zukünftige Studien bereitstellt. Zugleich ist sie ein notwendiges Werk zur Bestandserfassung verfallener Kirchenanlagen, die aufgrund der häufigen, zum Teil schweren Erdbeben auf den Ionischen Inseln von der Zerstörung bedroht sind. Weitere Pluspunkte sind die umfangreiche Bibliographie, die anschaulichen Grundrisse und perspektivischen Darstellungen, die qualitätvollen Abbildungen und die ausgesprochen hilfreichen Register. Der Band stellt somit einen gelungenen und mit Blick auf die noch ausstehenden Bände des Corpus verheißungsvollen Beitrag dar. Die Autoren haben in einer methodisch überaus durchdachten, detailreichen und mit Akribie durchgeführten Untersuchung dieses Material zum Sprechen gebracht. Nicht nur innerhalb der Byzanz-Forschung wird ihr Werk für lange Zeit seinen Wert behalten.

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Andreas RHOBY, Ausgewählte byzantinische Epigramme in illuminierten Handschriften. Verse und ihre „inschriftliche" Verwendung in Codices des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, 4. *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 42. Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2018. 848 p. ISBN 978-3-7001-8104-0.

If the study of Byzantine epigrammatic poetry has experienced a veritable surge in recent years, it is in no small part thanks to the publication of the multivolume *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* (*BEIÜ*). A corpus of Byzantine verse inscriptions had been a long-standing scholarly desideratum. Building on the pioneering work of Wolfram HÖRANDNER, Andreas RHOBY and his colleagues at the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna valiantly undertook the gargantuan task of producing such a corpus. The first volume of *BEIÜ*, devoted to epigrams on frescoes and mosaics, appeared in 2009. This was followed in 2010 by the second volume, which encompasses epigrams on icons and objects of the so-called minor arts. The third volume, published in 2014, presents epigrams on stone. The recent appearance of the fourth volume, devoted to select epigrams preserved in illuminated manuscripts, marks the completion of the Viennese project. (Much of the work on this final volume was carried out by Rudolf STEFEC, but it was RHOBY who saw it through to completion.) It must be stated at the outset that *BEIÜ* is truly a colossal achievement, a monument to scholarship, erudition, and rigor. Its detailed and meticulously documented catalogues of epigrams across a range of media and historical and cultural contexts provide an invaluable resource that future generations of scholars – philologists, epigraphers, art historians, archaeologists, and others – will continue to consult as a standard point of reference.

The epigrams catalogued in the fourth volume of *BEIÜ* fall under the rubric of what has been termed "book epigrams" or "metrical paratexts," that is, verses that appear alongside the main text(s) in a manuscript. A systematic presentation of this expansive subcategory of Byzantine poetry has been the goal of an ongoing project at the University of Ghent, the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (*DBBE*), accessible at www.dbbe.ugent.be, and the reader would do well to consult the fourth volume of *BEIÜ* together with *DBBE*. The volume, however, is more limited in scope. It features only those book epigrams that can be classified as "quasi-inscriptions." Specifically, it encompasses some 419 poems from the ninth through the fifteenth century, which either serve as poetic captions to images or assume the status of images themselves through their artful presentation. The latter of these two criteria of what makes a book epigram inscriptional is, admittedly, rather vague, and many a reader will find some of Rhoby's choices of what to include or exclude somewhat puzzling. Why, for instance,

have the splendid epigrams introducing the major prophets in the so-called Niketas Bible (Laur. plut. 5.9) been omitted? Should they not qualify as image-like? Still more puzzling is Rhoby's decision not to incorporate *carmina figurata*. The reader is referred to the seminal publications by HÖRANDNER canvassing this material, but Byzantine figured poetry falls squarely within the volume's purview and, therefore, should have been included in it.

As in the first three volumes of *BEIÜ*, the catalogue of epigrams in the fourth volume is preceded by a long and most informative introduction dealing with the phenomenon of metrical paratexts and their typology; the questions of paleography, metrics, and literary language and style; the problem of authorship; and lastly, the interplay between word and image in the perception and apprehension of inscriptional verses in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts. The catalogue entries, too, follow the established format. Each entry features the normalized Greek text of the epigram, accompanied by the *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus criticus*, as well as by a German translation, and further provides a succinct discussion of philological and contextual matters. Whenever possible, the relevant manuscript folios are presented through color or black-and-white images, all of them grouped at the end of the volume. Occasionally, the reader is encouraged to consult the digitized version of the manuscript online. The collected epigrams, many of which are here edited for the first time, show a remarkable variety of forms, functions, and modes of display. As is to be expected, verses accompanying author portraits, especially those of the evangelists, predominate. One also finds numerous epigrams celebrating acts of patronage and investment in book production, some of them quite conventional (e.g., nos. ISR1 or IT17), others more idiosyncratic (e.g., nos. FR42–FR43). Poetic captions attached to figural miniatures are often ekphrastic or exegetical in nature, but some take the form of a dialogue, thus animating the image in a cartoon-like fashion (e.g., nos. GB2–GB3). At times, the epigram serves a didactic purpose by instructing the reader/viewer, in one instance on how to make sense of an astronomical diagram (no. VAT2). Elsewhere, poetry inhabits diagrammatic forms, blurring the boundary between textual and graphic elements (e.g., nos. FR14 and FR41).

Being an art historian, the present reviewer cannot but applaud RHOBY for his sensitivity to the visual and material dimension of the written word. This has not always been the case. Attentive readers will not fail to notice that in the first volume of *BEIÜ*, inscriptions are treated primarily as texts. Reflecting a growing appreciation for script as a visual medium in the most recent scholarship on Byzantine epigraphy, a trend to which RHOBY himself has contributed, the subsequent volumes of *BEIÜ* have increasingly embraced the multimediality of inscriptions. The fourth volume is no exception. Its introduction offers a thor-

ough discussion of the various *Auszeichnungsschriften* and other, less elaborate types of writing employed for inscriptional epigrams in manuscripts. Here and throughout the catalogue, special attention is also given to such related issues as the layout of the verses, the forms and functions of punctuation marks, and the degree of coordination between the epigram's visual and literary aspects. One wishes that RHOBY had taken a step further and explored in greater detail the possible reasons behind the choice of particular scripts. Indeed, is there a hierarchy of *Auszeichnungsschriften?* Do certain scripts carry specific connotations? And how might the selection of a script relate to the nature of the book or the status of its commissioner? The rich material assembled and systematically presented in this volume will be of enormous help to anyone attempting to tackle such questions.

In order to avoid further delays in the publication of the volume, RHOBY has opted to present the addenda to the first three volumes of *BEIÜ* in truncated form. Over sixty previously uncatalogued epigrams on wall paintings, icons, portable objects, and stone are listed only with their incipits and the essential bibliography. The full presentation of these epigrams, so we are told, will be realized electronically at a later date. In fact, RHOBY and his team in Vienna envision a complete electronic version of the corpus in the form of an online database. The creation of such a database should be enthusiastically welcomed. Corpora of this kind are best served by electronic media, which not only make possible periodic revisions and updates, but also allow for a greater flexibility in the presentation and documentation of the material.

The Viennese Byzantinists continue to show the way forward through their large-scale, collaborative, and interdisciplinary projects. *BEIÜ* is a stellar example of what can be accomplished when intellectual energy and ambition meet institutional support. RHOBY and his colleagues deserve all the praise of the scholarly world for producing the corpus of Byzantine verse inscriptions, a fundamental resource whose full impact on the field is yet to be seen.

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Denis SULLIVAN, The rise and fall of Nikephoros II Phokas. Five contemporary texts in annotated translations. *Byzantina Australiensia*, 23. Leiden / Boston, Brill 2018. VIII, 252 p. ISBN 978-90-04-38216-9.

Having already co-authored an annotated English translation of Leo the Deacon's *History* (2005), Denis SULLIVAN has now provided an English translation, with facing Greek, of another five significant contemporary sources, bringing them conveniently into a single volume. The standard of the translations is professional. Readers without Greek will find them readable. For my part, I am grateful for solutions to certain passages over which I have long puzzled.

As a preface explains, the first three passages are from prose texts belonging to the Logothete cycle. They cover the years 944 – 963, from the deposing of Romanos I Lekapenos and the start of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' sole reign up until the death of Romanos II and the move to acclaim Nikephoros Phokas emperor. Though the future emperor is not mentioned until the year 955, the earlier years show his family and the context in which he rose to prominence. The fourth text, a poem of over a thousand verses, covers only Nikephoros' recapture of Crete in 960 – 961. The fifth text contains a number of hymns forming a service for the commemoration of Nikephoros' death on 11 December 969. For the reign of Nikephoros, and for a sometimes less flattering appraisal, we already have Leo the Deacon and Skylitzes in English.

The three prose passages are preceded by a brief introduction which summarizes their content. Each of the other two texts has its own rather more comprehensive introduction. Together with the footnotes, these show familiarity with recent scholarship. The volume is rounded out with a glossary of titles and dignities that are transliterated in the English and of persons named in the texts who appear in the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit,* with their record numbers. There are bibliographies of primary and secondary sources and a general index. Two colour figures show an enlarged representation of Constantine VII on a gold solidus and, from the illustrated Madrid *Skylitzes*, Nikephoros being welcomed into Constantinople for his coronation.

The five texts translated are:

1. Part of Book 6 of *Theophanes Continuatus* (hereafter TC) = p. 435 – 481 of Bekker's Bonn 1838 edition (hereafter B), which reproduced p. 271 – 300 of Combefis' 1685 edition, which was based solely on a 17th-century apographon, Vat. Barb. gr. 232, fols 260v.4 – 287r.7, of the 11th-century *codex unicus,* Vat. gr. 167, fols 153r.14 – 168v.38.

2. Passages from the revised *Chronicle* of Symeon Logothete (hereafter SL):

a. An extract published from Vat. gr. 163, fols 58v.12–61r.16, by Markopoulos in 1979.
b. Three passages, added in the revision to the earlier part of the chronicle, relating to the grandfather and father of the future emperor Nikephoros. Published by Istrin in 1922 from Vat. gr. 153 (and by Grégoire in 1953), they are also found in Vat. gr. 163, as Markopoulos pointed out; the third passage is in TC (B 359.17–360.9).

3. The end of the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Symeon (hereafter PsS). Sullivan translates p. 752–760 of B's 1838 edition (*sub nomine* Symeon Magister), reprinted from Combefis 1685, p. 493–498 (*sub nomine* Symeon Magister and Logothete), which correspond to folios 270v–272r of the sole manuscript, Paris. gr. 1712.

4. The whole of Theodosios the Deacon's *The Capture of Crete* (*De Creta Capta,* hereafter CC), found in a single 13th-century manuscript, Paris. suppl. gr. 352, fols. 135–140. Sullivan has provided the 1828 Bonn edition by Jacobs (in Hase's *History* of Leo the Deacon, p. 261–306), which reproduces that of Foggini (1777) but also took into account the 1755 *editio princeps* by Cornelius with its own Latin translation.

5. An anonymous liturgical office (*Akolouthia*) commemorating Nikephoros as martyr and saint, found in a single manuscript (Athos Lavra 124, fols 133–149) and published by Petit in 1904 from a copy lent to him. Petit would not rule out the possibility that the author was Theodosios the Deacon. In footnotes Sullivan provides a fuller version of *irmoi* which the text abbreviates.

A new edition of the first text (TC Book 6) is needed – Ševčenko went back to the *codex unicus* for his 2011 edition of the *Vita Basilii* (= TC Book 5) and his final text differed in more than 500 places from B's. I found 19 differences between B 438.20–440.14 (Sullivan p. 12–13) and Vat. gr. 167, fols 154r.31–155r.5, some of them sensible corrections, but with a couple of arbitrary changes, due to the scribe of Vat. Barb. gr. 232, others (mostly sensible corrections) due to Combefis, all of them reproduced by B and silently accepted by Sullivan. To his credit, Sullivan also has recourse to the manuscript in a number of places. In note 31 (p. 13) he corrects an error introduced by Combefis. Where B (following Combefis p. 278) has the impossible ὡς πάντας σωτήρια ἐπευφημοῦν … τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, Sullivan (p. 25 note 64) correctly notes that the manuscript (fol. 157.22) has πάντες; he might have added that the manuscript has ἐπευφήμουν. For σωτήρια, abbreviated in the Barberinus fol. 267r.19 as σρια, Sullivan conjectures σωτῆρα on the basis of the parallel passage in the revised SL (p. 84

ch. 6 line 6); this makes good sense (though I think the abbreviation in Vat. gr. 167 could justifiably be read as σρα). Another example is on p. 21 note 52, "Reading with the manuscript νοσσίαν" (it is actually νοσσιάν); curiously the Latin in both Combefis and B has *nidum* while the Greek remains defective. One line above, however, the Vaticanus has τοῦ θεοσυνεργήτου ἄνακτος, copied into Barberinus as τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος τῷ ἄνακτι but corrected in the margin, as also in Combefis and reported by B, but the correction is ignored by SULLIVAN.

Also to his credit, SULLIVAN occasionally resolves difficulties in one text of the Logothete tradition with reference to the other two. In the texts of SL and PsS, at the start of all but the final paragraphs is a useful reference to the chapter of *TC* containing a parallel passage. I would have found it even more useful if all three Logothete-tradition texts were cross-referenced. In relation to CC, SULLIVAN frequently accepts amendments from PANAGIOTAKES' 1960 edition and occasionally refers to the conjectures of JACOBS' and CRISCUOLO's (1979) editions and to notes in FOGGINI's 1777 edition. In the *Akolouthia* he accepts some of PETIT's amendments and finds many more parallel expressions in the bible than did PETIT. Though he makes no pretence of editing his Greek texts anew, SULLIVAN does provide improvements to them.

Some aspects of the book's production are unsatisfactory. There is no explanation of the cover image and no list of figures. The full pedigree of all the Greek texts is not given. Twenty-five names of "persons in the PbmZ named in the texts" are omitted from the general index; the titles, dignities and technical terms explained in the Glossary are also not indexed. To gloss *kathisma, kontakion,* and *sticheron* as 'a type of hymn' is not very enlightening; similarly, glossing *kanon* and *troparion* in relation to *odes* but without explaining what an *ode* is. While translated as 'cupbearer', the attached footnote (p. 15 note 38) refers to πιγκέρνης in the *ODB* 3:1679 even though the *ODB* entry is *pinkernes*; this word could have been included in the glossary of titles. SULLIVAN's policy on footnotes is, except where the immediate context requires more, to refer the reader to the *ODB* (*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*), *PmbZ* (*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*), and *LBG* (*Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*); while these certainly point to further information, the lack of immediate gratification can be frustrating. Throughout I would have liked a little more attention to language and style. SULLIVAN generally notes where others have translated certain passages, but not always. Page references to FOGGINI's notes are not to his 1777 edition but to the reprint in HASE's *History* of Leo the Deacon.

Internal referencing is to the page and line number of the reproduced Greek editions – except in the case of TC, which is inexplicably without line numbers even though they are cited in footnotes; it took me a while to realize that, on

p. 99, "479: 14" refers to a chapter while "479:21" refers to a line. References to Markopoulos' edition are given weirdly as, e.g., "Vat. gr. 163, chap. 6, line 5" – that is, Markopoulos p. 92 ch. 6 line 5 (fol. 59r.14 of the manuscript). As edition page numbers are set deep in the inner margins and hard to find, reference to the pages of the present book would have been more convenient. Some cross-references (e.g., p. 97 note 44) are without page, chapter or line number.

The standard of proof-reading is high. I detected only the following typographical errors: in the Abbreviations (p. x) the *L* of *LSJ* is given as "Little" instead of 'Liddell'; p. 14 line 7 εὔχωνται for εὔξωνται; p. 40 ch. 37 line 1 πρὸς for πρὸ; p. 58 line 1 γῆς for τῆς; p. 100 line 1 επὶ for ἐπὶ; p. 182 line 138 ἑν for ἐν; p. 173 note 150 refers to note 50 for note 53; p. 205 note 20 has Tim for 1 Tim, note 21 Mt. 5:26 for Mt. 5:16, note 22 Mt. 5:25 for Mt. 5:15, p. 227 note 59 Ps. 67 (68):3 for Ps. 67 (68):35. Some footnotes are duplicated: p. 85 note 14 = p. 89 note 27, p. 51 note 161 = p. 93 note 36. On p. 93 note 35 it is wrongly claimed that TC does not give the name of the hegemon during Leo VI's visit to the monastery on Mt Olympus (see B 464.16). On p. 100 ch. 22 lines 6–7 κατὰ τοῦ ἀθέου Χαμβδᾶ, p. 158 v. 151 ἀνθ' ὧν, and a question mark on p. 164 v. 267 are not rendered in the translation. In CC p. 158 v. 138 εὐτελὴς is rendered as εὐσταλὴς "well-equipped", and on p. 188 v. 79 πάλους as πάλαι "of old", which are readings in Criscuolo's edition, and may be those of Panagiotakes, but neither is acknowledged.

Overall, the translation is reliable and readable. The English is contemporary, mostly free of the sometimes antiquated vocabulary of *LSJ*. Some renderings are imaginative: "mysterious disease" for νόσος κρυφία (B 464.2), "with the gravitas of your words" for ὄγκῳ ῥημάτων" (p. 164 v. 259). TC's beloved paired synonyms are preserved: "those lavish and luxurious tables" for πολυτελέσι καὶ πολυόψοις ἐκείναις τραπέζαις (B 457.4), where DS's use of alliteration is impressive. While the translator generally achieves his declared intention (p. viii) "to leave the English as close to the Greek as possible", this can sometimes result in slightly stilted English. On the other hand, Sullivan might have been a little more adventurous in the case of CC: I would have enjoyed a more literal 'horsey swiftness' rather than the very prosaic "swift horses" for ἱππικῷ τάχει (p. 144 v. 131) and, for ἐμπτερωθὲν ἀπτέρως (p. 178 v. 57), 'launched into flight wingless' rather than "elated without reason". While Sullivan has opted to render ἄναξ always as "ruler", his translation of certain words is adapted to the context, for example, βασιλεὺς and αὐτοκράτωρ are sometimes "sovereign" and sometimes "emperor", δεσπότης is sometimes "sovereign" and sometimes "master". Some variations, however, seem whimsical: B 462.1 μηδὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν φέροντες "unable to endure their assault" but B 462.10 τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρμὴν μὴ φέροντας "not putting up with their assault".

Without wishing to detract from DS's solid achievement, there are a few places where an alternative interpretation of the Greek seems possible. I suggest the following (by SULLIVAN's page number):

14 (B 440.12) ποιήσαντες ἀφέσιμον "deeming it a letter of forgiveness": 'composing a certificate of remission'? "Deeming" would seem to require the middle voice ποιησάμενοι, and would Romanos have had a blank piece of paper buried with him rather than one with the signatures of hundreds of monks?

14 (B 441.1) and 112 (B 754.7) κουρεύσας "tonsured": were they made clerics (as potential aspirants to the throne) or humiliated by having their heads and beards shaved and any remaining hair singed? Cf. SL ch. 32 line 170 (Wahlgren 269), Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 12.7.4.5.

18 (B 443.17) κατὰ καιρὸν "then": 'annually'? Cf. SL p. 82 ch. 3 line 3 ἐτησίως.

31 (B 451.1) τοῦ ἀριστητηρίου "of the breakfast room": etymologically justifiable, perhaps, but is it appropriate for a room in which the emperor Constantine and guests dined at the eleventh hour (*De Cer.* 602.4)?

38 (B 456.21) δεξίωσιν "conviviality": on his Broumalion day the emperor received many guests: 'reception'?

38 (B 457.5) χορηγίαις "expenditures": as Constantine (*De Cer.* 607) is said to have more than doubled the cash handouts and added valuable textiles, might this mean 'distributions of cash' or just 'gifts'?

53 (B 465.13–18), Constantine VII goes to visit an elder in a remote part of Bithynian Olympus. καὶ δὴ θείᾳ ἐκλάμψει ὁ γέρων ἐμφανισθεὶς ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένου, τῆς κέλλης αὐτοῦ ἀπιών "Indeed, as the emperor was coming toward him the elder appeared amid a divine light, exiting his cell": could this mean 'And indeed, having had it revealed to him by divine illumination that the emperor had arrived, the elder went out from his cell'? In SL (p. 92 ch. 14 lines 24–28) the emperor sees nothing unusual about the elder but asks who he is, why he has come, and the elder replies, 'having learned of your majesty's progress towards me, I have instead come to you'. SL continues ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκ θείας ἐπιφανείας καὶ ἀποστολῆς τὸν γέροντα πληροφορηθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι "the emperor, convinced by the divine and apostolic illumination that the elder was coming": given the tense of ἀφικέσθαι, might this mean 'when the emperor had been informed that the elder had arrived because he had been sent forth in a divine epiphany'?

54 (B 466.7) ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡττᾶτο ὁ φοβερὸς βασιλεὺς παρὰ τῆς νόσου "For when the fearful emperor was overcome by the disease": 'For when the formidable emperor was being overcome by the disease'?

54 (B 467.5) καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέλη πάντη ὢν ὁ γλυκὺς καὶ πλουτοδότης βασιλεύς "and to the end the emperor was totally sweet and generous": 'and when the sweet and generous emperor was at the extreme end'?

64 (B 472.8) δι᾽ ὅλου 'everywhere': 'all the time'?

108 last two lines (Istrin = B 360.7–8) δουλείαις ἐξυπηρετεῖτο ταῖς ἀνηκού-σαις τῷ βασιλεῖ "assisted by the emperor's disobedient slaves" would require ἀνηκουστούσαις: 'assiduously served the emperor in the duties of his position'?

158 v. 169 κλαπέντες "hidden", or 'deceived' by the feigned retreat?

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Nachrichten

Totentafel

Christo Andreev 31.7.2018
Ludwig Burgmann 28.8.2019
Ekkehard Eickhoff 5.5.2019
Ruth Macrides 27.4.2019
Fergus Millar 15.7.2019
Pia Schmid 17.4.2019
Alexander Sideras 17.7.2019
Speros Vryonis, Jr. 11.3.2019
Ivan Tjutjundžiev 1.10.2018

David Jacoby (24.10.1928 – 4.10.2018)

David Jacoby wurde am 24. Februar 1928 in eine Familie jüdischer Diamantenhändler in Antwerpen hinein geboren. Das Interesse für Handel, Handwerk, Warenverkehr, aber auch der Bedeutung der jüdischen Diaspora, denen später sein ganzes wissenschaftliches Interesse galt, war ihm gewissermaßen von Anfang an in die Wiege gelegt. Aber der Weg, bis er seine Ziele verwirklichen konnte, war schwierig. Bei der deutschen Besetzung Belgiens 1940 konnte der größte Teil der Familie über die Schweiz nach Südfrankreich fliehen und lebte im Untergrund. David wollte über diese „Jugendzeit" nie sprechen. Schon vor der Gründung des Staates Israel wanderte er nach Palästina aus und setzte sich im Unabhängigkeitskrieg aktiv für einen Staat Israel ein. Er hat diese Haltung des Pioniers auch später immer wieder mit berechtigtem Stolz hervorgehoben und stand politischen Strömungen zu einer Einschränkung der staatlichen Kompetenz Israels zeitlebens negativ gegenüber. Zwischen 1949 und 1956 studierte er Mittelalterliche Geschichte an der Hebrew University, wo Josua Prawer seine Interessen entscheidend beeinflusste. Ein Aufenthalt an der Sorbonne (1956 – 1958) ermöglichte ihm das Studium der Byzantinistik und die Abfassung der Doktorthese (zu den Assisen der Romania) unter Leitung von Paul Lemerle. Seine weitere Laufbahn an der hebräischen Universität fand ihren Abschluss mit der Ernennung zum ordentlichen Professor für mittelalterlicher Geschichte im Jahr 1974. Zahlreiche längere Auslandsaufenthalte, vor allem in den Vereinigten Staaten (University of California in Berkeley, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania), aber auch in Europa

(Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Istituto Ellenico in Venedig, Istituto Veneto), waren vorausgegangen, und es folgten weitere in den späteren Jahren, die ihm die Möglichkeit gaben, seinen speziellen, immer im hohen Maßquellengebundenen Forschungen nachzugehen, die in Israel nur schwierig oder überhaupt nicht durchzuführen waren. Im Jahre 1992 wurde ihm der Große Forschungspreis der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung verliehen und eröffnete ihm den Weg zu deutschen Institutionen, die er bisher, verständlich aus den Erfahrungen seiner Jugendjahre, eher gemieden hatte, obwohl er immer viele persönliche Freunde in Deutschland besessen hatte. Dank der Großzügigkeit der Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung konnte er auch in späteren Jahren immer wieder Einladungen an die Universiäten Köln, München und an die *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* annehmen, und sich in den mehr als zwanzig Jahren nach seiner Emeritierung 1995 noch vielen neuen Forschungsfeldern zuwenden. Obwohl in den letzten Jahren seine Gesundheit die Ausführung seiner Interessen und Aktivitäten einschränkte, hat er, unterstützt von seiner großen Familie, bis an die Schwelle des Todes gearbeitet und ließ die Kontakte mit Freunden und Kollegen nicht abreißen. Trotz seines hohen Alters erschien daher allen sein Tod am 4. Oktober 2018 als unerwartet.

David Jacoby hat in Israel nach den Wirren von Flucht und Krieg seine eigentliche Heimat gefunden und an der Hebrew University eine reiche Lehrtätigkeit entfaltet. Sehr früh schon suchte er auch ein Netz von Kontakten in den Vereinigten Staaten, England, Frankreich, den Staaten der Mittelmeerwelt und später Deutschland, während ihm der Aufenthalt in den arabischen Ländern aus politischen Gründen nicht möglich war. In Verbindung mit Colloquien lernte er auch Orte kennen, die in seinen Forschungen eine Rolle spielten, oder Institutionen, die wichtiges Material für seine Arbeit beherbergten. Er war immer ein leidenschaftlicher Reisender, der, nicht wie die Personen seiner Vorträge, Waren transportierte, sondern Wissen. Kein Land ragt aber darunter so sehr hervor wie Italien, und dort im besonderen Venedig. Seine sprachlichen Fähigkeiten, neben dem Hebräischen Französisch, Englisch, Italienisch und Deutsch erleichterten diese Kontakte.

Alle 209 Titel seines wissenschaftlichen Œuvres[1] sind ausschließlich der Mittelmeerwelt des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters gewidmet, mit einem deutlichen Schwerpunkt im östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Jacoby bestand immer darauf, in erster Linie ein Historiker der Mittelmeerwelt zu sein. Darin hatte er große Vor-

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1 Eine bibliographisch exakte Auflistung findet sich in der Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag: S. Menache / B. Z. Kedar / M. Balard (eds.), Crusading and trading between West and East. Studies in Honour of David Jacoby. London 2018, XIII–XXIII.

bilder, von denen er sich aber in Methode und Ergebnis stark unterschied. Am Ende des 19. Jh. verfasste der Stuttgarter Bibliothekar Wilhelm HEYD eine Geschichte des levantinischen Handels im Mittelalter, die bis heute in der französischen Übersetzung benutzbar ist (Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge, 1885–1886), fast ebenso wie die „Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge" aus der Feder des Gymnasial-Oberlehrers Adolf SCHAUBE (1906). Eine ganz neue Sicht eröffnete Fernand BRAUDEL (La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, in erster Auflage 1949). Die zwei jüngsten Publikationen, Peregrine HORDEN / Nicholas PURCELL, The corrupting see. A study of Mediterranean history (2000), und Daniel ABULALFIA, The Great Sea. A human history of the Mediterranean (2011) ergänzen in globaler Weise die von Braudel begründeten Forschungen.

Und nun: David Jacoby. Er war immer Geschichtsforscher, nicht Geschichtsschreiber, geschweige denn Geschichtenschreiber. In Zusammenhang mit der Verleihung des Humboldt-Forschungspreises 1992 trug er sich mit dem Gedanken, eine Synthese abzufassen unter dem Titel „Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge". Er opferte dieses Projekt bald seinen Forschungen zur Seide, aber die von ihm erstrebte Monographie zu diesem Produkt kam nicht mehr zustande.

Grundlage aller seiner Titel – darunter als einzige Monographie die von der Stiftung Gustave Schlumberger 1973 preisgekrönte Untersuchung zu den Assisen der fränkischen Herzogtümer in Griechenland nach dem 4. Kreuzzug (1971) – ist das exakte Quellen- und Literaturstudium. Nicht immer sind es unedierte Archivdokumente, sondern vielfach unentdeckte und unbeachtete, oft längst gedruckte Texte. David Jacoby war ein unermüdlicher Leser und Exzerptor, der jede neu erschienene Quellenausgabe sofort durchsah und für seine Zwecke aufarbeitete. An Hand neuer Entdeckungen nahm er frühere Ergebnisse immer wieder auf, vermied aber dabei jede inhaltliche Wiederholung. Die kritische Fragestellung, die er bei anderen forderte und die besonders in Rezensionen rigoros zum Ausdruck kommt, durchzieht wie ein roter Faden alle seine Arbeiten. Einen breiten Bereich in seinem Œuvre nimmt die *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* ein, der in weitestem Sinn fast alle Arbeiten zugeordnet werden können. Man sollte hier den überhaupt ersten Artikel in seiner Literaturliste, aus dem Jahr 1961, besonders hervorheben, in dem er sich mit dem Problem der Bevölkerungszahl Konstantinopels beschäftigt und zu Ergebnissen kommt, die heute allgemein als am ehesten akzeptabel erscheinen. Es verwundert nicht, dass sein Interesse auch immer wieder den *Juden im Mittelmeerraum* galt. Am Beginn steht eine fast monographische Abhandlung zu den jüdischen Quartieren in Konstantinopel. Später wandte er sich den venezianischen Juden zu und entdeckte ihre übergreifende

Bedeutung für den gesamten Mittelmeerhandel, aber auch ihre herausragende Funktion in der venezianischen Gesellschaft. Insgesamt gesehen muss auf Grund seiner Forschungen die Geschichte der Juden im östlichen Mittelmeerraum neu geschrieben werden. Seine bereits genannte Arbeit zu den Assisen der Romania ist begleitet von zahlreichen Studien zu den *fränkischen Staaten in Griechenland*, ihren Bezügen zum byzantinischen Restreich, ihrer Agrarstruktur und Fragen der sozialen Ordnung im Rahmen einer griechisch-lateinischen Mischbevölkerung. David Jacoby hat sich aber auch im Bereich der *Kreuzzugsgeschichte* einen renommierten Namen gemacht, da er nie von einer isolierten Betrachtung ausgeht, sondern immer die Geschichte des gesamten östlichen Mittelmeerraumes in seine Untersuchungen miteinbezieht. In diesem Rahmen hat er auch der Geschichte der Kreuzfahrerstädte, besonders Akkons, eine spezielle Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Es war schon angedeutet, dass *Venedig* in seinen Forschungen, je mehr sie fortschritten, einen immer höheren Stellenwert einnahm. Er verfasste einige grundlegende Beiträge in der Storia di Venezia und leistete Pionierarbeit in der Erforschung der venezianischen Präsenz in Konstantinopel, etwa in seiner topographisch unterstützten Studie zum venezianischen Anteil in der Stadt nach 1204, zu den Häusern der Venezianer, nicht zu vergessen seine Studie zur Chronologie des Chrysobulls von 1082, in der er alle Zweifel an dieser Datierung zurückwies. In den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten stand besonders die *Seide* im Mittelpunkt seines Interesses, die bis dahin fast ausschließlich eine Domäne der Kunsthistoriker gewesen war. Allein im Jahr 2004 erschienen gleichzeitig vier umfangreiche Aufsätze zur Seide unter wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkten. Sie war schon immer und in allen Abhandlungen zur Wirtschaft des Mittelmeerraumes erwähnt, gewissermaßen nebenbei und als selbstverständliches Handelsprodukt, erhält nun aber, seit den Forschungen von Jacoby, dank konkreter, materialreicher Belege ihre tatsächliche Bedeutung zurück. Doch auch anderen realen Produkten wendet Jacoby seine Aufmerksamkeit zu: er sucht nach Belegen für die Glasindustrie oder behandelt auf sechzig Seiten Vorkommen und Handel von Alaun, das ein unverzichtbares Material bei der Bearbeitung von Stoffen war. Eher selten trifft man auf Beiträge zum Literaturtransfer und auch die politische Staatengeschichte ist nicht Selbstzweck, sondern bildet den Hintergrund zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Die Betrachtung des Kunstaustausches verlangt andere Voraussetzungen und Methoden, und fehlt daher in seinem Œuvre.

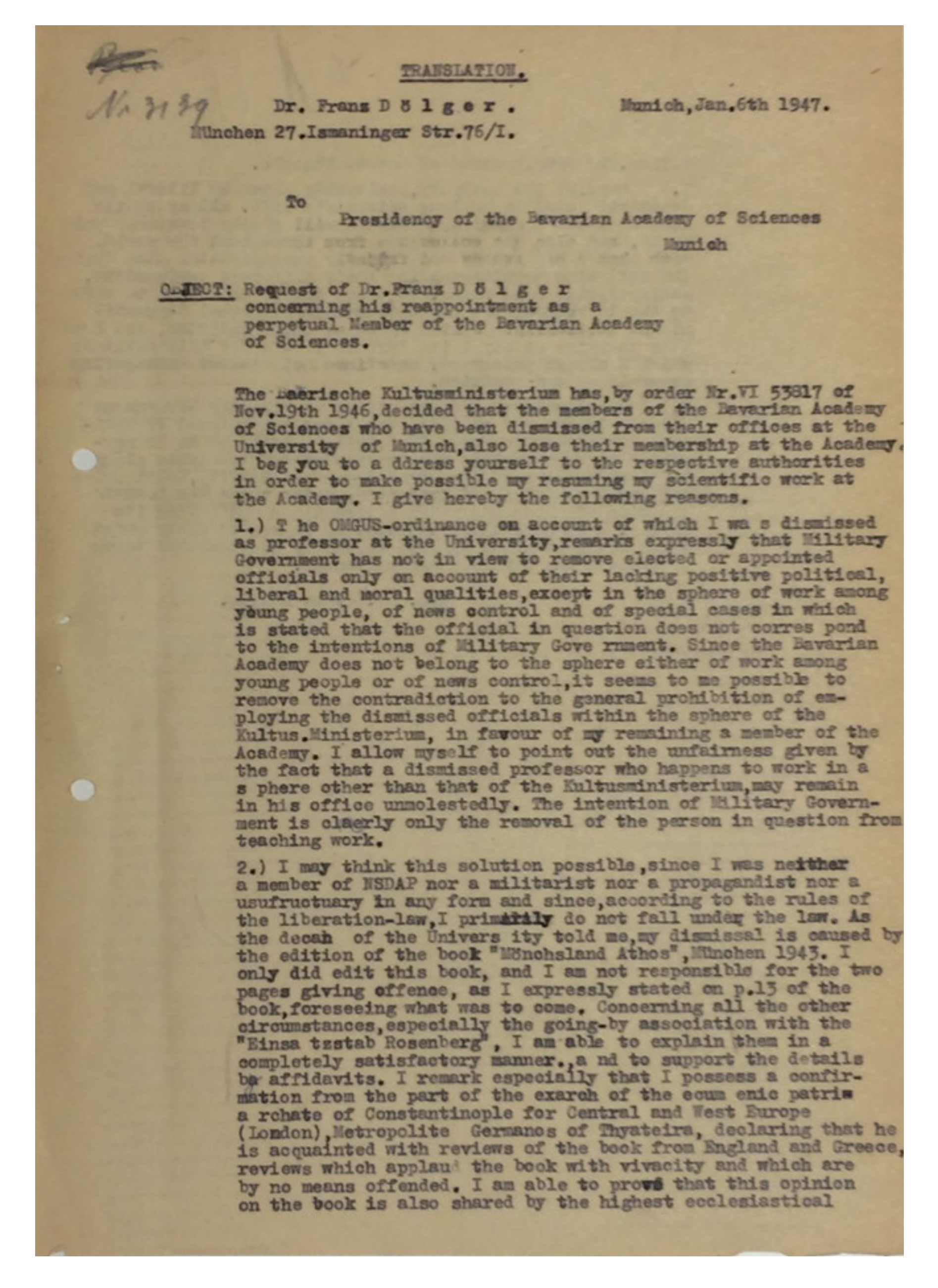
Die vielen Beiträge sind nur selten großen Zeitschriften anvertraut und daher oft schwer erreichbar in lokalen Kongressakten, doch hat sich ihrer schon früh die Reihe Variorum Reprint angenommen und viele von ihnen in acht Bänden zwischen 1975 und 2018 gesammelt und unter sachkundiger Auswahl des Verfassers bequem in ihrer originalen Fassung (auf insgesamt 2700 Seiten) mit Nachträgen und durch Indizes erschlossen zugänglich gemacht.

Die Beiträge von David Jacoby sind nie eine bloße Materialsammlung, sondern erreichen immer eine Synthese größeren oder kleineren Umfangs. In ihrer Summe, besonders wie sie die genannten Aufsatzsammlungen zugänglich machen, stellen sie eine Gesamtsynthese von Wirtschaft und Handel in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Mittelmeerwelt dar, die den globalen Darstellungen von Braudel, Horden/Purcell und Abulafia ebenbürtig zur Seite steht. Die Fragestellungen und Ergebnisse, die das Lebenswerk von David Jacoby an den Tag bringt, sind längst nicht abgeschlossen und müssen ein Vorbild für die jüngere Generation sein, um fortgeführt, ausgeweitet und vertieft zu werden.

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Tafelanhang



TRANSLATION.

Nr. 3139

Dr. Franz D ö l g e r . Munich, Jan. 6th 1947.
München 27. Ismaninger Str. 76/I.

To

Presidency of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences
Munich

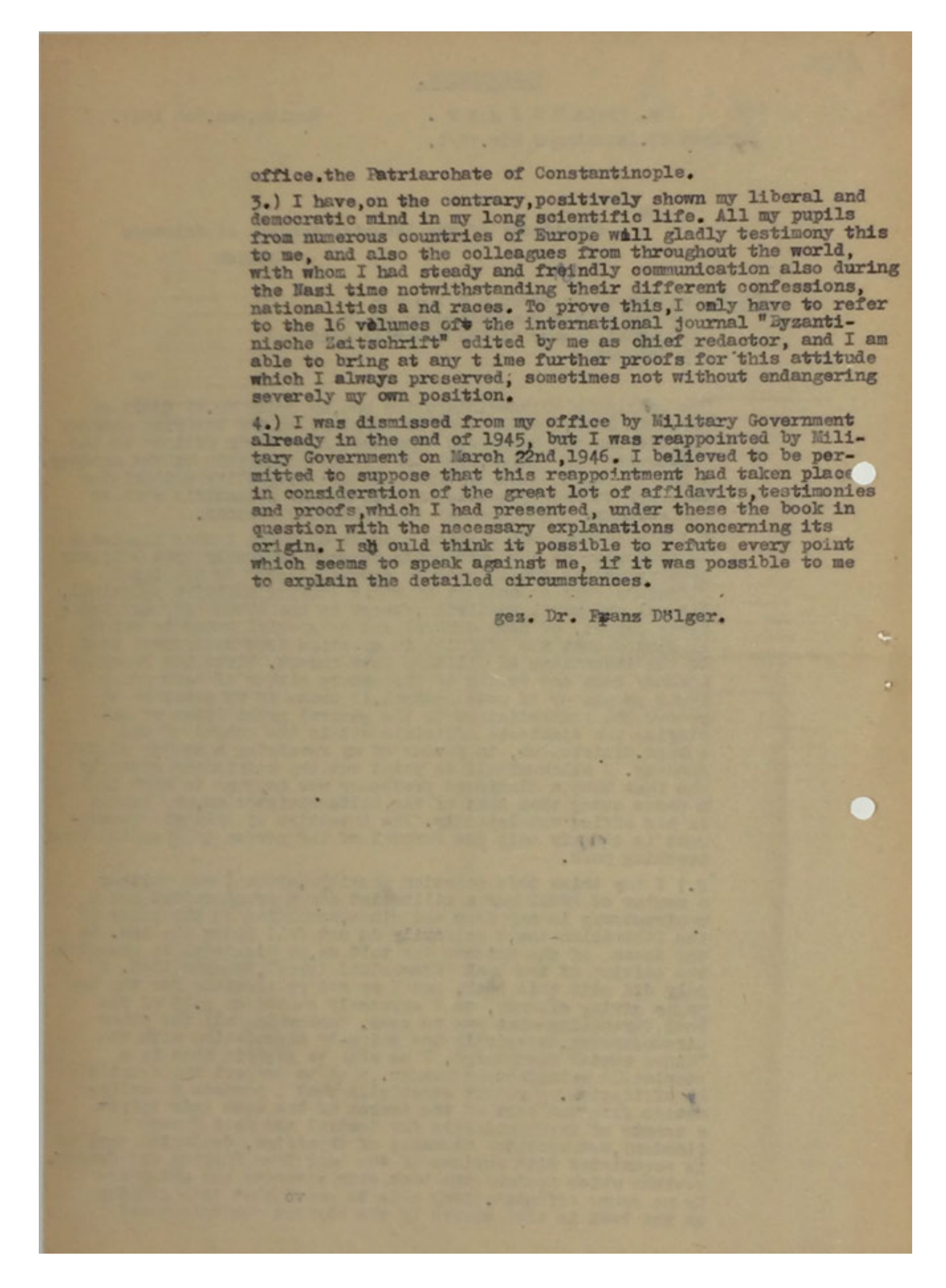
OBJECT: Request of Dr. Franz D ö l g e r
concerning his reappointment as a
perpetual Member of the Bavarian Academy
of Sciences.

The Baerische Kultusministerium has, by order Nr. VI 53817 of Nov. 19th 1946, decided that the members of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences who have been dismissed from their offices at the University of Munich, also lose their membership at the Academy. I beg you to a ddress yourself to the respective authorities in order to make possible my resuming my scientific work at the Academy. I give hereby the following reasons.

1.) T he OMGUS-ordinance on account of which I wa s dismissed as professor at the University, remarks expressly that Military Government has not in view to remove elected or appointed officials only on account of their lacking positive political, liberal and moral qualities, except in the sphere of work among young people, of news control and of special cases in which is stated that the official in question does not corres pond to the intentions of Military Gove rnment. Since the Bavarian Academy does not belong to the sphere either of work among young people or of news control, it seems to me possible to remove the contradiction to the general prohibition of employing the dismissed officials within the sphere of the Kultus. Ministerium, in favour of my remaining a member of the Academy. I allow myself to point out the unfairness given by the fact that a dismissed professor who happens to work in a s phere other than that of the Kultusministerium, may remain in his office unmolestedly. The intention of Military Government is claerly only the removal of the person in question from teaching work.

2.) I may think this solution possible, since I was neither a member of NSDAP nor a militarist nor a propagandist nor a usufructuary in any form and since, according to the rules of the liberation-law, I primarily do not fall under the law. As the decah of the Univers ity told me, my dismissal is caused by the edition of the book "Mönchsland Athos", München 1943. I only did edit this book, and I am not responsible for the two pages giving offence, as I expressly stated on p. 13 of the book, foreseeing what was to come. Concerning all the other circumstances, especially the going-by association with the "Einsa tzstab Rosenberg", I am able to explain them in a completely satisfactory manner., a nd to support the details be affidavits. I remark especially that I possess a confirmation from the part of the exarch of the ecum enic patria rchate of Constantinople for Central and West Europe (London), Metropolite Germanos of Thyateira, declaring that he is acquainted with reviews of the book from England and Greece, reviews which applaud the book with vivacity and which are by no means offended. I am able to prove that this opinion on the book is also shared by the highest ecclesiastical

Fig. 1. Franz Dölger, Memorandum to the presidency of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (Dölger Personalakt, doc. no. 3139, dated 6 January 1947), page 1 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).



office.the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

3.) I have,on the contrary,positively shown my liberal and democratic mind in my long scientific life. All my pupils from numerous countries of Europe will gladly testimony this to me, and also the colleagues from throughout the world, with whom I had steady and freindly communication also during the Nazi time notwithstanding their different confessions, nationalities a nd races. To prove this,I only have to refer to the 16 volumes ofe the international journal "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" edited by me as chief redactor, and I am able to bring at any t ime further proofs for this attitude which I always preserved, sometimes not without endangering severely my own position.

4.) I was dismissed from my office by Military Government already in the end of 1945, but I was reappointed by Military Government on March 22nd,1946. I believed to be permitted to suppose that this reappointment had taken place in consideration of the great lot of affidavits,testimonies and proofs,which I had presented, under these the book in question with the necessary explanations concerning its origin. I sh ould think it possible to refute every point which seems to speak against me, if it was possible to me to explain the detailed circumstances.

gez. Dr. Franz Dölger.

Fig. 2. Franz Dölger, Memorandum to the presidency of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (Dölger Personalakt, doc. no. 3139, dated 6 January 1947), page 2 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

Archbishop G e r m a n o s
Metropolitan of Thyateira
Exarch of Western and Central
Europe

8, Dawson Place, Bayswater
London W.2
z.Zt.Berlin, den 9.Dezember 1946
Phone BAYswater 2947

E r k l ä r u n g

Professor Dr. Franz D ö l g e r, München, Ismaningerstr.76/I, ist mir seit vielen Jahren persönlich und durch seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit auf das beste bekannt. Da ich gelegentlich meiner Besichtigungsreise in München erfahre, dass ihm Schwierigkeiten entstanden sind, welche möglicherweise auf sein Verhalten gegenüber Griechenland oder der griechischen Kirche zurückzuführen sein könnten, fühle ich das Bedürfnis für die Integrität seiner Person einzutreten und folgendes zu erklären.

Professor Dölger ist in weiten Kreisen des griechischen Volkes nicht nur als hervorragender Gelehrter, sondern auch als uneigennütziger, lauterer und toleranter Charakter bekannt. Seine Verdienste um die Erforschung Griechenlands wurden wiederholt, teils schon vor 1933, teils auch zwischen 1933 und 1941 durch Staatsauszeichnungen und Ehrenmitgliedschaften, im Jahre 1937 besonders auch durch dieV Verleihung des Ehrendoktors der Universität Athen anerkannt.

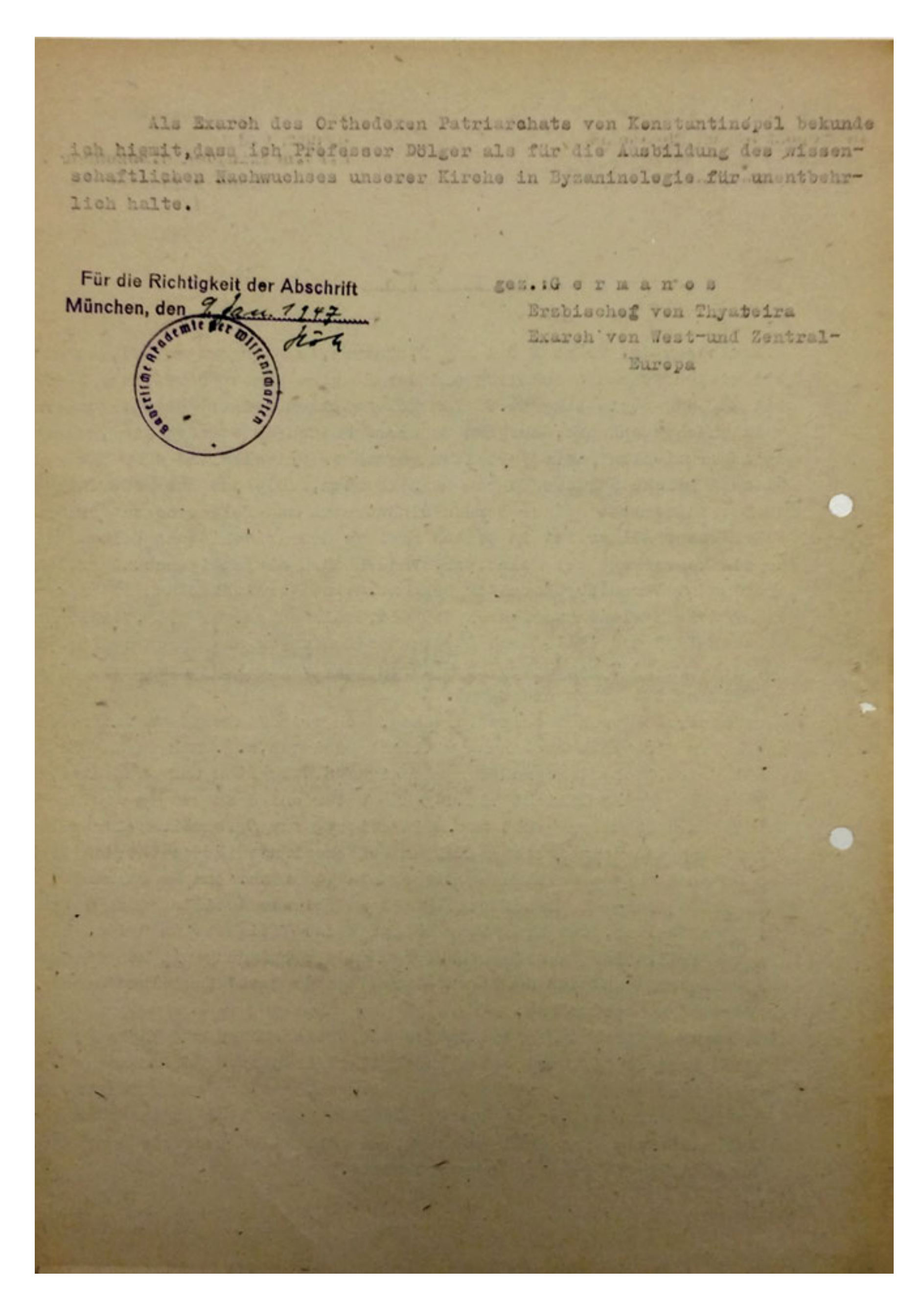
Professor Dölger hat seine vornehme, nach friedlicher Zusammenarbeit der Völker strebende Gesinnung vielfach bewiesen, z.B. auch durch die stete Hilfsbereitschaft gegenüber griechischen Gelehrten und Studenten, die er weit über seine Pflicht hinaus ohne Unterschied zu seinen deutschen Kollegen und Schülern geübt hat. Sein Beitrag zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Kultur Griechenlands ist so beträchtlich, dass es eine ernste Gefährdung dieser Studien wäre, wenn er gezwungen würde seine Lehr- und Forschertätigkeit auf diesem Gebiete einzustellen.

Es wäre möglich, dass Professor Dölger seine Tätigkeit in Griechenland im Jahre 1941, seine damalige vorübergehende Verbindung mit dem "Einsatzstab Rosenberg" und das damit zusammenhängende Buch "Mönchsland Athos", zum Vorwurf gemacht würde.

Ich kenne Besprechungen des Buches aus Griechenland und England, welche das Buch lebhaft begrüsst haben und keinerlei Anstoss an ihm nahmen.

Nach meiner Kenntnis ist es ausgeschlossen, dass Professor Dölger während seines Aufenthaltes in Griechenland im Jahre 1941 irgendetwas getan hat, was einem einzelnen Griechen, dem griechischen Staate oder der griechichen Kirche Schaden gebracht hätte.

Fig. 3. Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, Statement (Dölger Personalakt, no document number, dated 9 December 1946), page 1 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

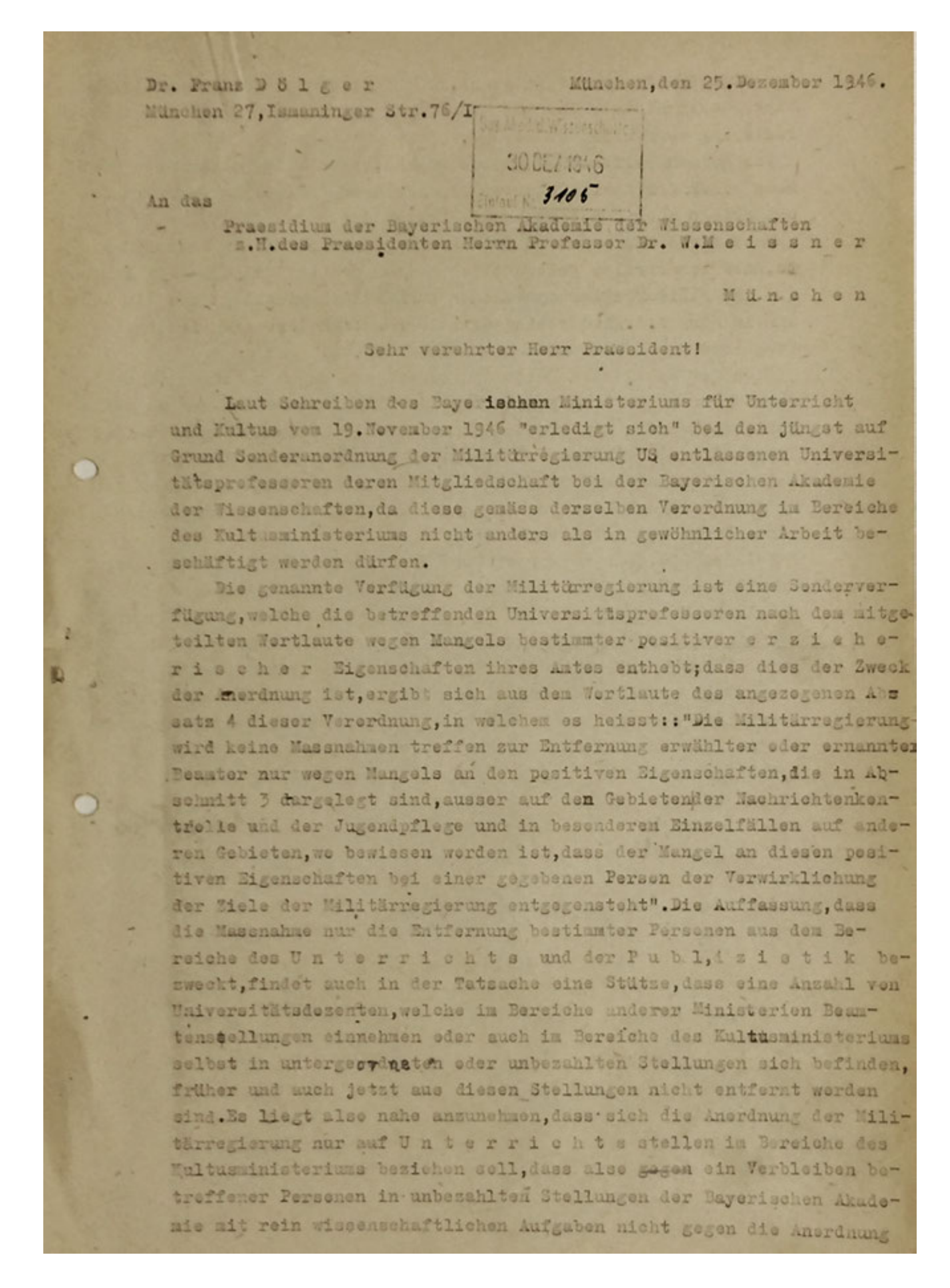


Als Exarch des Orthodoxen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel bekunde ich hiemit, dass ich Professor Dölger als für die Ausbildung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses unserer Kirche in Byzaninologie für unentbehrlich halte.

Für die Richtigkeit der Abschrift
München, den 9. Jan. 1947

gez.: G e r m a n o s
Erzbischof von Thyateira
Exarch von West-und Zentral-
Europa

Fig. 4. Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, Statement (Dölger Personalakt, no document number, dated 9 December 1946), page 2 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).



Dr. Franz D ö l g e r München,den 25.Dezember 1946.
München 27,Ismaninger Str.76/I

30 DEZ 1946
3105

An das
Praesidium der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
z.H.des Praesidenten Herrn Professor Dr. W.M e i s s n e r

M ü n c h e n

Sehr verehrter Herr Praesident!

Laut Schreiben des Bayerischen Ministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus vom 19.November 1946 "erledigt sich" bei den jüngst auf Grund Sonderanordnung der Militärregierung US entlassenen Universitätsprofessoren deren Mitgliedschaft bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,da diese gemäss derselben Verordnung im Bereiche des Kultusministeriums nicht anders als in gewöhnlicher Arbeit beschäftigt werden dürfen.

Die genannte Verfügung der Militärregierung ist eine Sonderverfügung,welche die betreffenden Universitätsprofessoren nach dem mitgeteilten Wortlaute wegen Mangels bestimmter positiver e r z i e h e r i s c h e r Eigenschaften ihres Amtes enthebt;dass dies der Zweck der Anordnung ist,ergibt sich aus dem Wortlaute des angezogenen Absatz 4 dieser Verordnung,in welchem es heisst::"Die Militärregierung wird keine Massnahmen treffen zur Entfernung erwählter oder ernannter Beamter nur wegen Mangels an den positiven Eigenschaften,die in Abschnitt 3 dargelegt sind,ausser auf den Gebieten der Nachrichtenkontrolle und der Jugendpflege und in besonderen Einzelfällen auf anderen Gebieten,wo bewiesen worden ist,dass der Mangel an diesen positiven Eigenschaften bei einer gegebenen Person der Verwirklichung der Ziele der Militärregierung entgegensteht".Die Auffassung,dass die Massnahme nur die Entfernung bestimmter Personen aus dem Bereiche des U n t e r r i c h t s und der P u b l i z i s t i k bezweckt,findet auch in der Tatsache eine Stütze,dass eine Anzahl von Universitätsdozenten,welche im Bereiche anderer Ministerien Beamtenstellungen einnehmen oder auch im Bereiche des Kultusministeriums selbst in untergeordneten oder unbezahlten Stellungen sich befinden, früher und auch jetzt aus diesen Stellungen nicht entfernt worden sind.Es liegt also nahe anzunehmen,dass sich die Anordnung der Militärregierung nur auf U n t e r r i c h t s stellen im Bereiche des Kultusministeriums beziehen soll,dass also ~~gegen~~ ein Verbleiben betreffener Personen in unbezahlten Stellungen der Bayerischen Akademie mit rein wissenschaftlichen Aufgaben nicht gegen die Anordnung

Fig. 5. Franz Dölger, Letter to the President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, (Dölger Personalakt, doc. no. 3105, dated 25 December 1946), page 1 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

der Militärregierung verstiesse. Ich bitte deshalb in diesem Sinne beim Bayerischen Ministerium für Unterricht und Kultus bzw. bei der Militärregierung vorstellig zu werden.

Was meinen politischen Status angeht, so habe ich weder der NSDAP noch einer der inkriminierten Gliederungen freiwillig angehört und unterliege nach den bestehenden Bestimmungen dem deutschen Säuberungsgesetz nicht. Was sonst an Bedenken gegen meine Person bestehen könnte, habe ich bereits gelegentlich meiner ersten Entlassung im Februar d.J. der Militärregierung München ausführlich widerlegt und bin daraufhin im März d.J. wieder eingesetzt worden; ich lege die wichtigsten Zeugnisse und Erklärungen hier nochmals bei.

Nach der sachlichen Seite hin glaube ich sagen zu dürfen, dass das Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, welches die Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften seit 1900 in internationalem Auftrage betreut, meiner jahrzehntealten Erfahrung, meiner ebensoalten Vertrautheit mit dem Stoff und meiner konkreten Mitarbeit an den bereits begonnenen Veröffentlichungen (Regesten) schwerlich wird entraten können.

Sollten Sie, sehr verehrter Herr Praesident, sich dieser Auffassung anschliessen und demgemäss mein Verbleiben in der Akademie als eine sachliche Notwendigkeit für den Fortgang der Arbeit betrachten können, so wären m.A. nach die Voraussetzungen gegeben entsprechenden Antrag zu stellen. Für die Akademie wäre damit eine empfindliche Unterbrechung, wenn nicht gar Einstellung eines ihrer ältesten Unternehmen, für mich persönlich die schlimmste Folge meiner Entlassung von der Universität, nämlich die Unterbindung meiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit und die Verhinderung der Vollendung meiner Lebensarbeit, abgewendet.

Franz Dölger

(Dr. Franz Dölger)

Fig. 6. Franz Dölger, Letter to the President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, (Dölger Personalakt, doc. no. 3105, dated 25 December 1946), page 2 (by permission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

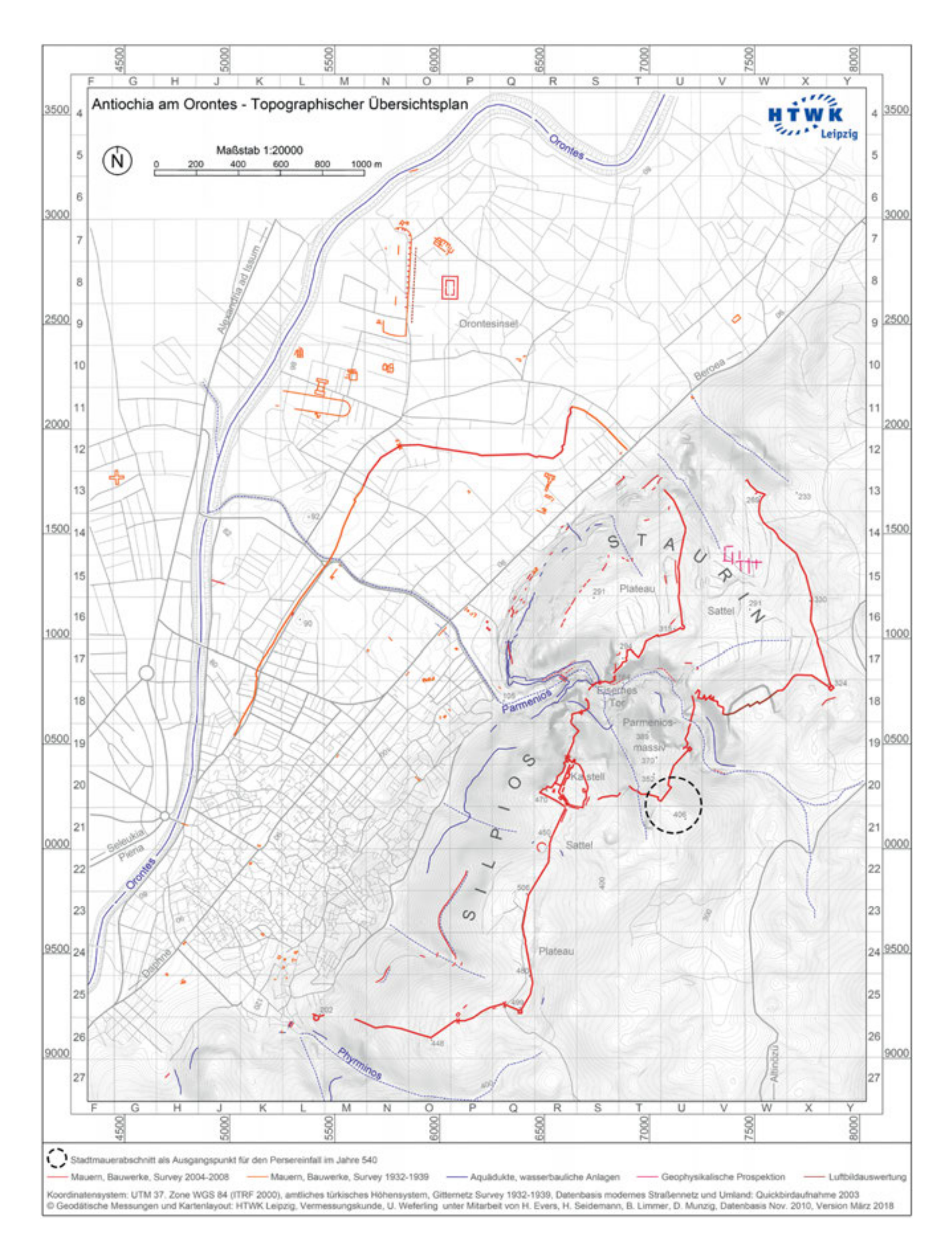


Fig. 1. Antiochia am Orontes, Stadtplan, M 1:20.000. Ulrich Weferling, HTWK Leipzig

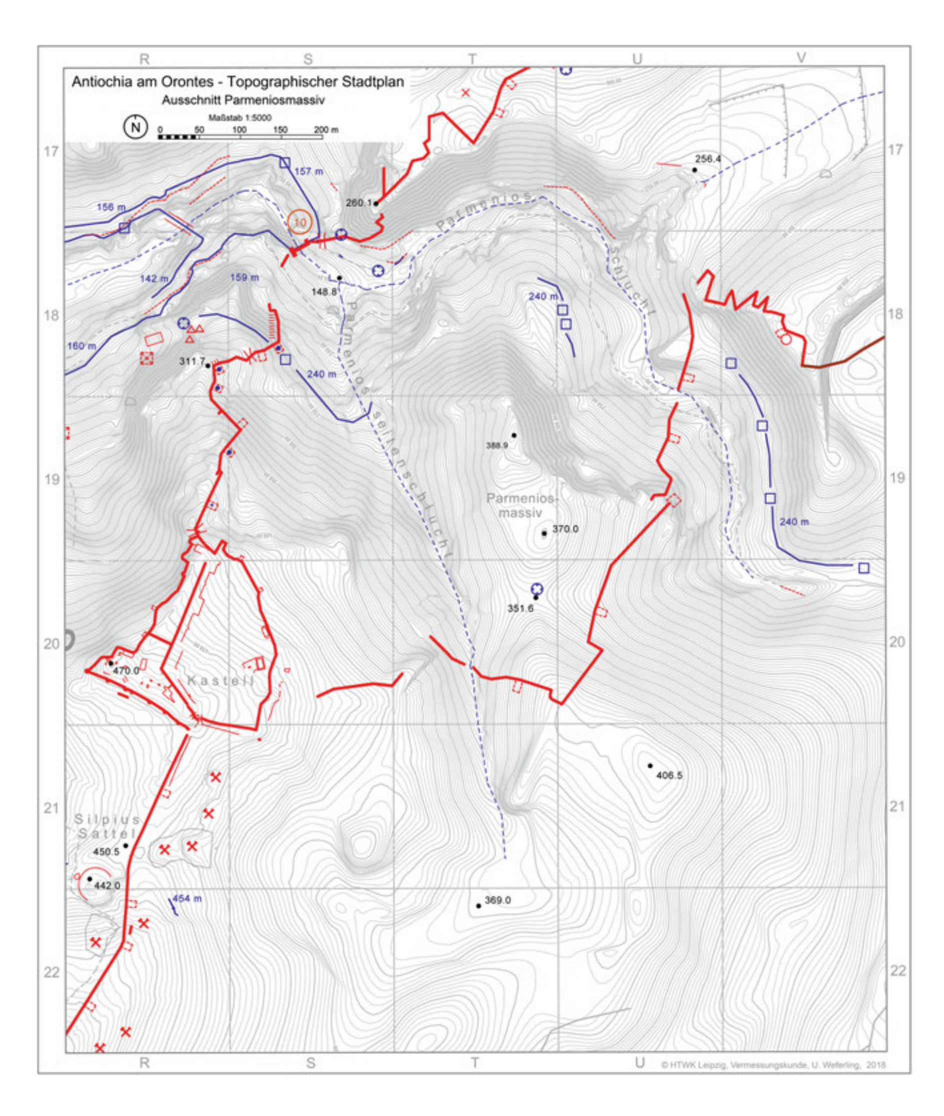


Fig. 2. Antiochia am Orontes, Topographischer Stadtplan, Ausschnitt, Parmeniosmassiv, verkleinerte Darstellung, Originalmaßstab 1:5.000. Ulrich Weferling, HTWK Leipzig

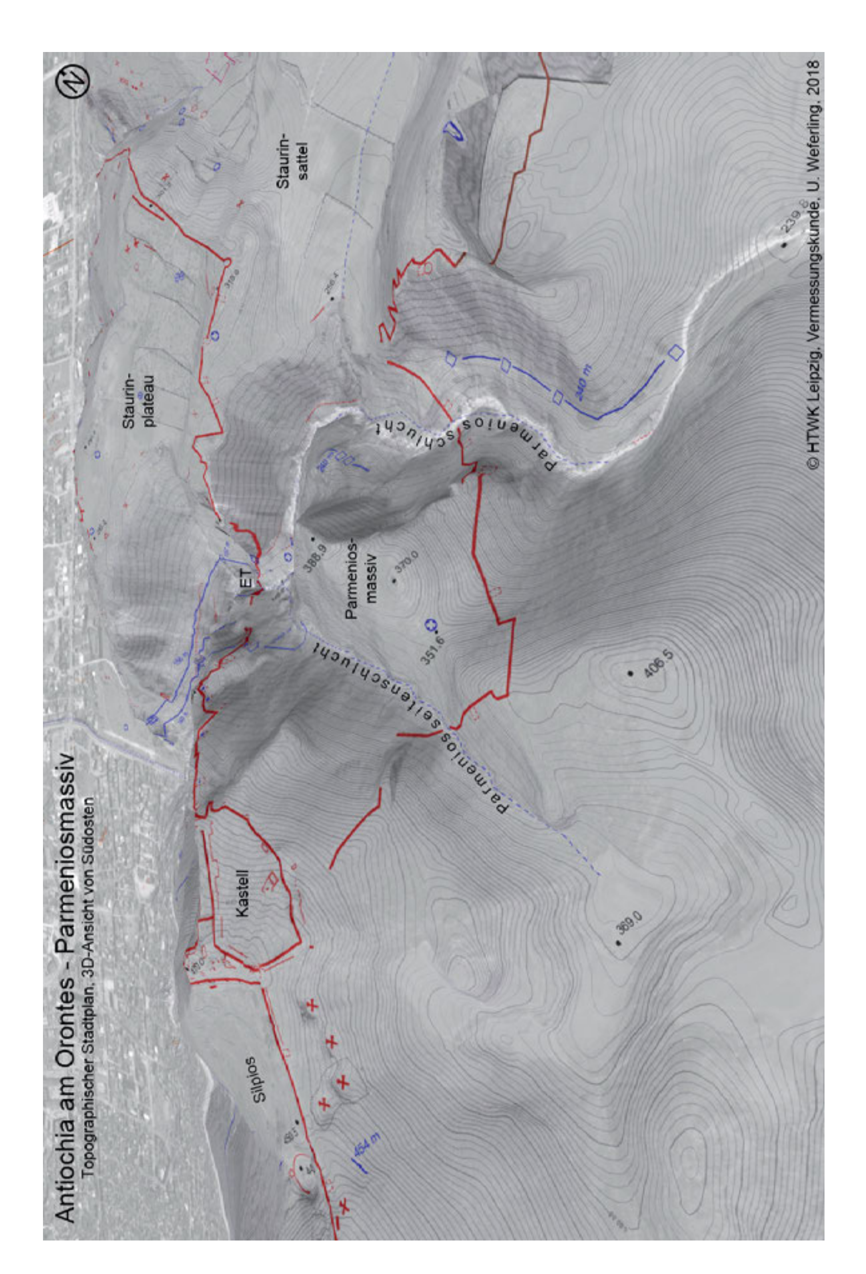


Fig. 3. Antiochia am Orontes, 3D-Perspektive, Ausschnitt, Parmeniosmassiv. Ulrich Weferling, HTWK Leipzig



Fig. 4. Antiochia am Orontes, Blick von der Stadtmauer auf den Ostabhang des Silpios (links, auf dem Gipfel das mittelalterliche Kastell), die Parmeniosseitenschlucht sowie die Westflanke des Parmeniosmassivs mit der Höhe 388.9 (rechts). Im Hintergrund erscheinen die steilen Nordabhänge des Staurin und die Stadt in der Ebene, Blick nach NW. Hans R. Goette, 2017



Fig. 5. Antiochia am Orontes, Blick vom Ostabhang des Silpios auf das Parmeniosmassiv mit dem markanten Gipfelfelsen (Höhe 388.9) und dem vorgelagerten , an dessen unterem Rand die Stadtmauer verläuft. Rechts der Senke erhebt sich der ‚Felsen des Unheils' mit der Höhe 406.5. Hans R. Goette, 2017



Fig. 6. Antiochia am Orontes, Blick von den Abhängen der Höhe 406.5 nach NW auf die Höhe 388.9. Gunnar Brands, 2008

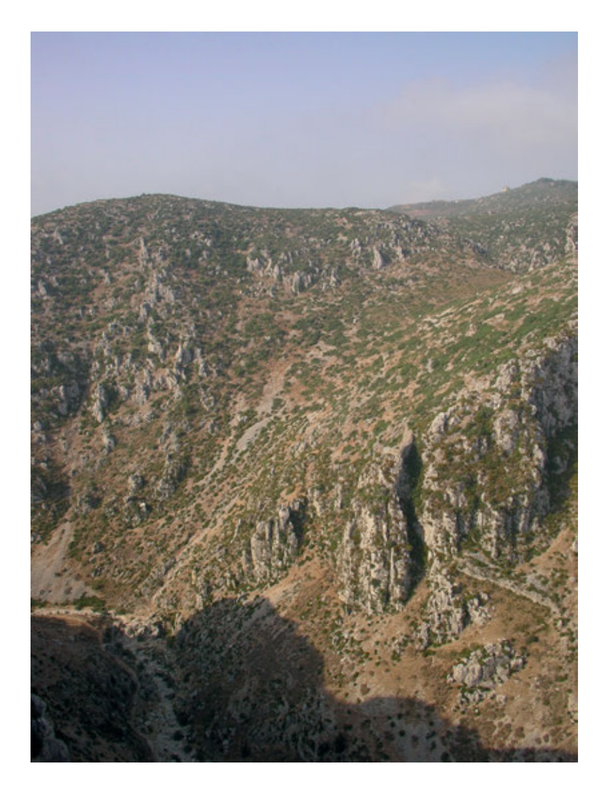


Fig. 7. Antiochia am Orontes, Blick vom westlichen Staurinhang nach SW auf die Höhe 406.5. Im Hintergrund der Silpios. Gunnar Brands, 2008



Fig. 1. Deësis, detail. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 2. Crucifixion, detail. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 3. Crucifixion, detail. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh
(after conservation, before restoration). Photo courtesy of Georg Maul and Peter Mirgartz



Fig. 4. Koimesis. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after conservation, before restoration). Photo courtesy of Georg Maul and Peter Mirgartz



Fig. 5. Koimesis. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 6. Adoration of the Magi, north apse. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 7. Presentation in the Temple, north apse. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 8. Annunciation to Zacharias, lunette of the south wall. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (after restoration)



Fig. 9. Piéllat, Adoration of the Magi



Fig. 10. Piéllat, Zacharias



Fig. 11. Icons of the saints, north wall, detail. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (before restoration). Photo courtesy of Georg Maul and Peter Mirgartz



Fig. 12. Piéllat, north walls depiction, detail



Fig. 13. Icons of the saints, south wall. The Crusader Church in Abu Gosh (before restoration). Photo courtesy of Georg Maul and Peter Mirgartz

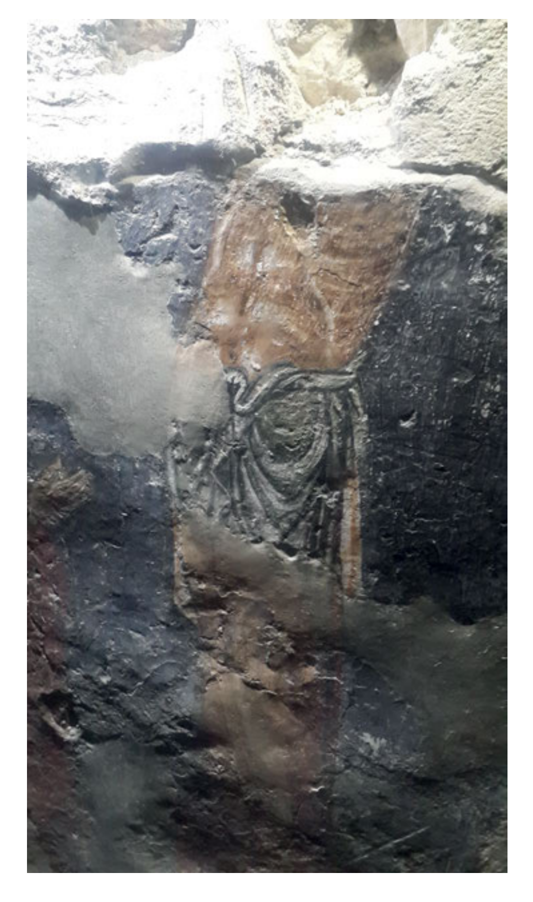


Fig. 14. Crucifixion, detail. The Chapel of the Cross, Holy Sepulcher, 12th century